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ABSTRACT

The seminar reported on was convened to discuss the findings of a study by Calvin J. Veltman on minority language usage past the first immigrant generation. Veltman discovered that minority languages in the United States are following the patterns of previous immigrant languages: while first generation newcomers speak their native language and learn some English, their offspring are likely to learn English first. The parents' language is seldom used by the majority in subsequent generations. A panel reacted to the findings as follows: (1) methodological difficulties regarding interpretation of results were presented, (2) Spanish language maintenance was cited as a fact, and (3) the belief was expressed that language assimilation should not be equated with cultural or ethnic assimilation. Implications of the findings and of the discussion for policy were set forth: (1) bilingual education alone will not curb trends in language attrition, although this is not a legitimate argument against bilingual education; (2) the need for a national language policy is clearer than before; (3) Hispanics are special; (4) the situation in the U.S. does not parallel that in Canada; and (5) the role of mass communication in assimilation is instrumental. (JB)

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The Retention of Minority Languages in the United States

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A Seminar on the Analytic Work of Calvin J. Veltman

May 13, 1980

Ronald J. Pedone
Project Officer
National Center for
Education Statistics

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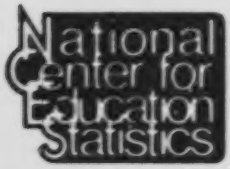

National Center for Education Statistics

"The purpose of the Center shall be to collect and disseminate statistics and other data related to education in the United States and in other nations. The Center shall . . . collect, collate, and, from time to time, report full and complete statistics on the conditions of education in the United States; conduct and publish reports on specialized analyses of the meaning and significance of such statistics; . . . and review and report on education activities in foreign countries."–Section 406(b) of the General Education Provisions Act, as amended (20 U.S.C. 1221e-1).

FOREWORD

On May 13, 1980, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) held a seminar on the "Retention of Minority Languages in the United States." The purpose of the seminar was to provide a forum to explore, challenge, and clarify knowledge and ideas about the retention of minority languages in the United States. Moreover, it marked the beginning of the Center's *Forum on Educational Issues*, a policy seminar series designed to enhance the level and quality of public debate and discussion on broad national education-related issues through the dissemination of NCES sponsored data analyses.

The "Retention of Minority Languages" seminar was successful in terms of attendance, response, and exchange among participants on important analytic and data collection needs, theoretical implications, and salient issues pertaining to language minority populations.

This report presents what was said in the seminar. Included in the report are Dr. Calvin Veltman's original report on the subject, the written critiques of seven experts from the United States and Canada representing important interests and disciplines, and the general discussion from the floor.

NCES acknowledges the contributions of Dr. Veltman, the panelists, and the other invited experts. The preparation of this report and the arrangements for the seminar were the responsibility of Mr. Abdin Nabce and the Latino Institute. The entire seminar was developed and coordinated by Ronald Pedone, NCES, on the staff of the Division of Elementary and Secondary Education Statistics.

Marie D. Eldridge
Administrator, National Center
for Education Statistics
November 1980

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INTRODUCTION

The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) convened a national forum on the retention of minority languages in the United States. The all-day seminar was held on May 13, 1980, at the Hubert H. Humphrey Building in Washington, D.C.

A group of eight eminent scholars (sociologists, educators, and linguistic experts) from the United States and Canada served as discussants (see appendix B). They commented on a major study sponsored by NCES and conducted by Dr. Calvin J. Veltman on minority language retention in the U.S. This is the first in a series of forums on educational topics of vital interest to special policy makers and practitioners.

Invited participants attending the seminar included legislative officials, researchers, community practitioners, Federal representatives, academicians and special interest group representatives. The open structured format provided an opportunity for a dialogue among the invited participants, the keynote presenter (Dr. Veltman), and the discussants. A copy of the format and agenda are included in appendix A.

PURPOSE OF SEMINAR

At the NCES seminar, expert discussants and invited participants critiqued the newly released federally sponsored study. Everyone shared ideas and perspectives on the topic and related issues. This exchange provided an opportunity for further examination of the study's methodology and conclusions. While exposing the findings to political and social scrutiny, interest was stimulated for further investigation and research. Suggestions were made for alternative data collection techniques. Discussion also focused on policy implications of this and other related studies and the possible misuse of such findings. The nuances of interpretation and concomitant policy issues were explored by the eminent group.

The seminar challenged all present to exchange related and ongoing research relevant to the issues under discussion. Researchers disagreed amicably. Limited data bases were demonstrated as yielding a rich variety of conclusions and a great array of applications. Specific problems akin to social investigation were clarified. Researchers were cautioned to carefully scrutinize and evaluate existing data bases. In an uncharacteristic atmosphere of camaraderie, a variety of viewpoints were shared within this heterogeneous group.

It is unlikely that participants would have interacted independent of such a forum. From differing cultural and social orientations, the participants representing different national and ethnic boundaries may not have had an opportunity to scrutinize this important social phenomenon. NCES initiated a much needed effort in making research more responsive to the needs and concerns of linguistic minorities.

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

To orient the reader to the major findings of the study and accompanying critiques, a brief highlight of Dr. Veltman's study and reactions to the data follow.

The main conclusions of Dr. Veltman's narrative presentation are:

- Non-English languages (minority languages) in this nation are following the patterns of previous immigrant languages.
- While first generation newcomers speak their native language and learn some English, their offspring are likely to learn English first. The parents' native language, having been eroded, is seldom used by the majority of the subsequent generations.

REACTIONS TO DR. VELTMAN'S FINDINGS

- A series of methodological difficulties were presented regarding the analysis and interpretation of survey responses, and the Survey of Income and Education (SIE) limitations.
- Some participants felt that Hispanics are maintaining their language and culture. The following examples were cited: the increase and expansiveness of Spanish language communication networks; increase in Spanish language advertising by large corporations; and growth of ethnic pride through the maintenance of native language.
- Other participants expressed the following: historically, changes in immigration patterns will not affect assimilation.
- Viewpoints were stated that findings presented do not sufficiently explain the demonstrated language use differences between Spanish and other minority language groups.
- Despite the evidence presented, some discussants believed that generations of Hispanics in the United States have not been assimilated.
- Some participants believed that language assimilation should not be equated with cultural or ethnic assimilation. For them, the loss of language does not necessarily mean a trend toward anglicization. Some criticized the term anglicization as an inadequate descriptor of a complex social process.
- Some felt that English language acquisition is a matter of utility not to be equated necessarily with interest toward Anglo assimilation or disinterest toward one's native culture. In their opinion, language and culture are different phenomena. "Chinatown" was presented as an example of English language usage in a culturally distinct (albeit American) setting.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

- Operating alone, bilingual education will not curb present trends in language retention.
- Dr. Veltman suggests that only significant structural changes in society would lead to a "retardation" of language shift.
- None of these findings can be used as an argument to curtail present bilingual education programs. Without any other justification, the continuing flow of non-English speaking immigrants necessitates continuing support for bilingual

education. Present bilingual programs are still not reaching students who could benefit from proper language instruction.

- The seminar did indicate the need for a clearer language policy in the U.S.
- Numerous related issues warrant further examination and intense research. Some of these appear in the seminar proceedings.
- Although Hispanics follow similar patterns, they are different on several accounts: they are more retentive of their native language than other immigrant groups; their numbers and community clusters are considerably larger and, consequently, more cohesive; and the Hispanic immigration rate continues with no sign of decreasing.
- There is no comparability between the U.S. and Canadian situations; French usage in Quebec persists through the generations; the language is institutionalized through the government, the schools, and the economy; linguistic political separation in states like Texas, Florida, or New Mexico is not a reality.
- SIE provides the most extensive national data base for language usage research due to the type of questions asked, the data collection procedures, and the extensiveness of the selected sample.
- Among the considerable number of non-English groups, Hispanics comprise the single largest non-English language group. There are many regional differences in language usage and proficiency within Hispanic groups. For instance, Hispanics in Texas have been somewhat successful in maintaining Spanish, while the degree of Spanish language maintenance is lower in the Rockies and California. These differences are measured by what Dr. Veltman calls "Anglicization rates."
- Unless the Spanish language becomes institutionalized, or economically sanctioned, special language education programs will continue to have a limited effect on native language maintenance.
- English language assimilation is rapidly increasing due to the influence of mass communication; dwindling reinforcement of native language education; greater integration into American society (e.g., amount of intermarriage); and growth of "little American Main Streets" lined with "Dunkin' Donuts" and "McDonalds."
- Among the Spanish speaking, limited Spanish language maintenance is principally due to the high amount of Hispanic immigrants and extensive pockets of concentration of Spanish language groups.

PART I

The Study

THE RETENTION OF MINORITY LANGUAGES IN THE UNITED STATES

By Dr. Calvin J. Veltman

SUMMARY

The recent referendum held in Quebec to determine the direction of Quebec nationalism frequently stirs fears that linguistic nationalism may develop in the United States. These fears' sources include increased numbers of Spanish-Americans in the United States, and a general perception of the Spanish language group's resistance to the adoption of the English language. Public signs in Spanish are seen as one example of the linguistic concessions obtained by this group. Previous immigrants did not benefit from such public courtesy. That bilingual education programs may also stimulate language maintenance provides another focus for such fears.

The subject of this report is the demystification of linguistic assimilation in the United States. It shows first of all that there is no comparability whatsoever between the linguistic situation in Quebec and that which prevails for any language group in any region of the United States. The French language group in Quebec constitutes 80 percent of the population. It has an anglicization rate of approximately two percent. In addition, this French language majority elects a provincial government which enjoys greater powers than a state government in the United States. In addition, the French language majority possess a relatively complete set of institutions which permit its survival and development (epanouissement). This contrasts markedly with the situation of the French language group in Ontario, which generally has access only to French language education. Most other government and business services are dispensed in English, the official language of Ontario. Under these conditions the anglicization rate has attained 40 percent for young adults.

These Canadian data are then compared to those for the United States as derived from the 1976 Survey of Income and Education. At the national level one finds relatively high percentages of native born persons of Spanish ancestry who come from completely English-language backgrounds, indicating the adoption of English language usage by previous ancestors. The figures are still higher for the other ancestry groups considered in this report: Chinese, Filipino, French, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Portugese, Scandinavian, and Native American ancestry.

Confining subsequent analyses to persons of non-English mother tongues, the report examines the levels of anglicization for each language group. Anglicization is defined as the adoption of the English language as one's personal usual language. When the mother tongue is no longer spoken with frequency, this form of anglicization is called monolingualization. The Spanish language group is the

most retentive group among the foreign born. "Only" 30 percent of its members adopt the English language as the usual language. However, the percentage of persons who abandon the usage of Spanish altogether is relatively low. For many language groups, over 50 percent of the foreign born abandon the usage of their mother tongue. In short, the data show that anglicization begins in the immigrant population itself. A substantial percentage of all language groups make English their usual language. This implies that their children will have English rather than non-English mother tongues. Subsequently, the report shows that children of English mother tongue living in bilingual households are not often bilingual. Over 60 percent of the unmarried 14–17 year olds living in bilingual households do not speak Spanish "often." The figures are still higher for other language groups. Consequently, movement to an English usual language generally implies the monolingualization of the children of such households.

When the non-English language is the mother tongue of the American born, the anglicization rates for all groups exceed 85 percent. With the Spanish language group, the rate is "only" 45 percent. Also, the rates of abandonment of the non-English languages are more elevated among the native born. Approximately one in seven persons of Spanish mother tongue no longer speaks the language; the same is true for one in five persons of Native American mother tongue. For a substantial percentage of the population, most languages are virtually eliminated among the native born. The Spanish and Native American languages are seriously eroded as principal languages and reduced to second languages.

However, there is some differentiation in the anglicization of the French and Spanish language groups by region. While in the past the French language group was somewhat less anglicized in Louisiana, anglicization is nearly complete for the young adults. Although very high, anglicization is somewhat lower in Northern than Southern New England. For native born Hispanics, the limited language samples tend to show more extensive anglicization in California, the Midwest, the Rocky Mountain states, New York, Florida, and Arizona. Low anglicization rates are found in New Mexico (51 percent) and Texas (40 percent). The anglicization rate for the Navajo of the Southwest is the lowest (22 percent). However, the examination of anglicization (and monolingualization) by age groups shows that the anglicization rates for young adults are higher than the general rate, reaching 50 percent in Texas, 60 percent in New Mexico, and nearly 35 percent for the Navajos.

Thus, with the exception of the Navajo, minority language groups in the United States are undergoing more extensive anglicization than the French language group of Ontario. The Ontario group is far more anglicized than the French of Quebec. In addition, the anglicization of the most retentive American language groups seems to have increased much more rapidly than that of the Ontario group. The already higher rates in the United States will be surplanted by still higher rates in the near future.

The report concludes that there is no basis in fact for the fear that the Spanish language group poses a threat to the linguistic integrity (the dominance of the English-language group) of the United States. The report suggests that the lack of an institutional framework like Quebec's causes the higher anglicization rates observed outside Quebec and in the United States, and that the lack of access to even minimal institutional services, particularly educational facilities in the minority language, causes the higher anglicization rates observed in the United States.

INTRODUCTION

Increased awareness of the size and importance of the Spanish language groups in the United States has frequently been accompanied by the fear that bilingual educational programs may lead to a "balkanization" of the United States. Since the 1976 election of the nationalist Parti Quebecois as the government of Quebec, the focus of these fears has been shifted from the Balkans to North America. Educators and legislators wonder whether the Spanish language groups will develop a demographic base firm enough to permit the development of regional autonomy movements.

The goal of this report is to analytically compare the linguistic situation of the French language group in Canada and the linguistic situation of the Spanish and other language groups in the United States. This comparative analysis is necessary for two reasons. First of all, because most Americans have very little understanding of language processes in Quebec, they are not in a position to make comparisons with American phenomena. And secondly, the comparison with similar phenomena elsewhere achieves just appreciation of the dominance and power of the English language in the United States.

I. Linguistic Assimilation in French Canada

The principal method used for the analysis of linguistic assimilation is the comparison of respondents' answers to two or more language questions. The 1971 Census of Canada ascertained the mother tongue of each resident by asking respondents to identify "the first language learned and still understood." A one-third sample of the population was also asked to indicate "the language usually spoken (by each individual) at home." The cross-classification of the responses to the mother tongue and home language questions permits the calculation of rates of language retention (where the mother tongue remains in use as the home language) and language transfer (where a language other than the mother tongue is usually spoken at home). Language transfer from some language other than English to English as the usual language will be called anglicization in this report. It is defined formally as the percentage of persons of a given non-English mother tongue who make English their principal language of use.[1]

The basic linguistic matrices which permit the calculation of anglicization rates for Quebec and Ontario are presented in Table 1. The complete matrices are presented so that certain observations may be made. First of all, it should be noted that the French language group is by far the largest language group in Quebec. 80.7 percent of the population declared French their mother tongue. By way of contrast, only 13.1 percent of the Quebec population had English as mother tongue. Secondly, the absolute size of the French language group should be recognized. In 1971 nearly five million people living in Quebec declared French as their mother tongue. Thirdly, although the English language group is much smaller, it attracted more language transfers from French than it lost to French, and it gained approximately two and one-half times more language transfers than did

[1] The word anglicization is taken from the French language, where it connotes the process of becoming English-speaking. Quebec analysts similarly discuss the process of francization.

Table 1. Home Language by Mother Tongue, Quebec and Ontario, 1971

Quebec				
		Home Language		
Mother Tongue	Total	English	French	Other
Total	6,027,765	887,875	4,870,105	269,785
English	788,830	729,920	49,060	9,850
(row%)	(100.0)	(92.5)	(6.2)	(1.2)
French	4,866,410	73,515	4,786,485	6,425
(row%)	(100.0)	(1.5)	(98.4)	(0.1)
Other	372,525	84,440	34,580	233,510
(row%)	(100.0)	(22.7)	(9.3)	(68.1)

Ontario				
		Home Language		
Mother Tongue	Total	English	French	Other
Total	7,703,110	6,558,065	352,465	792,580
English	5,967,725	5,908,950	12,195	46,610
(row%)	(100.0)	(99.0)	(0.2)	(0.8)
French	482,350	144,235	336,430	1,690
(row%)	(100.0)	(29.9)	(69.7)	(0.4)
Other	1,253,035	504,880	3,870	744,280
(row%)	(100.0)	(40.3)	(0.3)	(59.4)

Source: 1971 Census of Canada: "Statistics on Language Retention and Transfer," 92-776, table 2.

French from the third language groups. This attractiveness of English, the mother tongue of a relatively small minority, is attributed to the patterns of business ownership (largely of American and English-Canadian origin) and the economic benefits secured by integration into the English language group (Veltman and Boulet, 1979; Angle, in press).

An examination of the Ontario matrix shows a more typical process of linguistic assimilation (in North America). While nearly 30 percent of the population of French mother tongue has made English its home language, there is virtually no movement from English mother tongue to French home language. Language transfers in the third language groups are directed almost without exception to the English language. The Ontario matrix contrasts very clearly with that of Quebec, where there is some movement between the English and French groups. Thus, 49,000 persons of English mother tongue made French the usual home language. While this does not compensate for the 73,500 persons of French mother tongue who made English their usual home language, it does indicate that not all language transfers are directed unambiguously to English.[2]

These language transfer data should be understood as yielding mean rates of language transfer from one mother tongue to another home language. We shall subsequently refer to this rate as the *general rate* of language transfer (and since we are principally concerned with movements to English, *the general rate of*

[2] It should be noted that the francization rate of the English language group surpasses that of the anglicization of the French language group. In absolute numbers, however, English is clearly dominant.

anglicization). Age-specific anglicization rates can also be obtained by the same method.

The calculation of age-specific rates of language transfer has revealed a general age structure to language shift. When an individual's mother tongue differs from the politically, economically, or demographically dominant language of the territory, movement from the mother tongue to the dominant language is frequently observed. This type of language shift is characterized by an age structure which is grounded in the social experiences of the individual. When the child is very young, his mother tongue and subsequent language use is determined to a large extent by his parents' behavior. Consequently, little language shift is observed. However, when the child begins to attend school, the linguistic behavior of his peers, together with the official language of instruction and the language use of authorities, begins to play a role in the child's language capabilities and preferences. During this period there is a notable progression in the percentage of persons who make the dominant language their usual language. A more definitive break with the parental home is associated with the entry of the young adult into the work force or institutions of higher learning and with the selection of mate. Since such choices are normally completed by the age of thirty or thirty-five, further language shift should be rather unexpected (Castonguay, 1976). This theoretic structure is illustrated in Figure 1.

The line labeled "a" in Figure 1 represents any level of anglicization which may

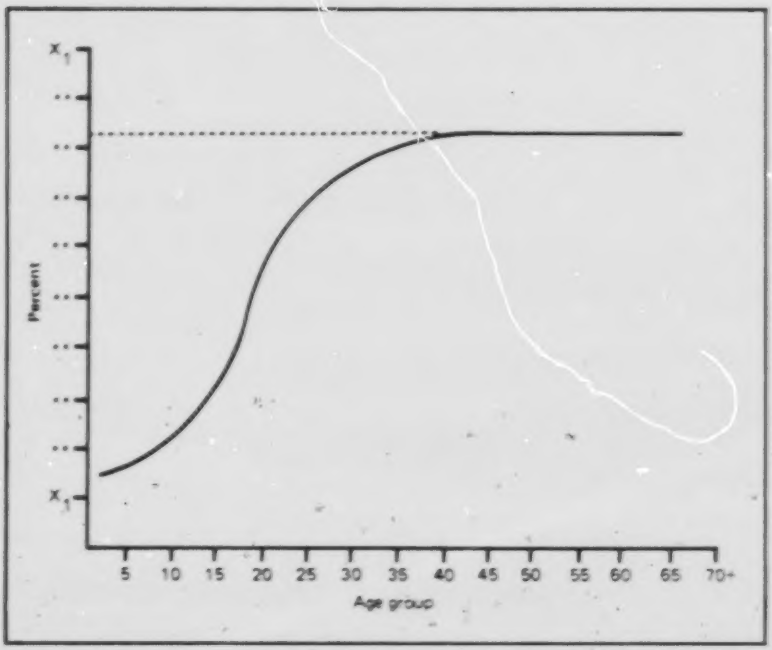

Figure 1. Theoretic distribution of language shift, by age.

8

prevail for any given language group in any given region, as does the representation of percentages by the symbols "x_1" to "x_n." This symbolism suggests that differences in the anglicization of any language group in any region are more likely reflected by differences in the location of the curve rather than by differences in the shape of the curve itself. That is to say, the process of anglicization (or any other form of language transfer) is more or less constant in Western societies. The age curve presented in Figure 1 is similar for all language groups and regions. What differs is the extent of anglicization. This is demonstrated by the curve's location nearest to the top or the bottom of a graph where the dependent variable is the anglicization rate.

While the proposed theoretic structure relating language shift to age seems sociologically reasonable, empirical verification requires longitudinal comparison. However, neither the 1971 Census of Canada nor the 1976 Survey of Income and Education is longitudinally comparable to any other studies carried out in the two countries. Nonetheless, certain types of findings seem to increase the plausibility of the general model. First of all, based upon an intercensal cohort analysis of the Finnish national census for the years 1950 and 1960, DeVries (1974) found that most language transfers from Swedish to Finnish occurred before the age of thirty-five. DeVries further concludes that the ages from ten to twenty-nine are the principal years during which such language shifts occur. The most important factors affecting these transfers are secondary and university education, entry into the work force, and marriage.

Secondly, Castonguay (in press) has established that the age curves for anglicization and linguistic exogamy are parallel. Intercensal comparisons have established that linguistic exogamy with the English language group by the French language group has been increasing for the French language minorities outside Quebec in this century. Since the two age curves are so precisely parallel, it is a reasonable assumption that common processes are involved. If linguistic exogamy has been increasing for each successive cohort under the age of sixty-five, it is a logical inference that anglicization has also been increasing.

Thirdly, although he did not control such important variables as nativity and mother tongue, Lieberson (1965) has shown that cohort bilingualism is stable from one census to another in Montreal with nearly all second language learning occurring before the age of thirty-five. Since bilingualism in Montreal is predominantly associated with retention of the mother tongue (rather than language transfer), it is likely to be less stable over time than language transfer. This latter shift implies much more permanent linguistic commitments. As a matter of fact, the decline of cohort bilingualism after age fifty-five suggests that bilingualism is associated with work force participation (Fishman *et al.*, 1971:544). Nonetheless, and this is the important point, the learning of second languages appears to climax before the age of thirty-five. Since language transfer is predicated upon the learning of a second language, language transfer should be expected to follow the same time schedule.

Consequently, even though the data at our disposal are cross-sectional and not longitudinal in nature, age cohorts which are older than thirty-five years of age provide us with estimates of the extent to which they were anglicized (or more generally, to which they underwent language transfer) before they attained thirty-five years of age. By comparing these estimates, some assessment may be made as to whether anglicization is increasing, decreasing, or remaining at the same

level. If anglicization is a constant process, then each age cohort from thirty-five years of age through sixty-five years and older should have similar proportions of persons who made language transfers to English. The appropriate curve for this condition is that represented by b_1 Figure 2. If, on the other hand, anglicization has been increasing,[3] the 35–39 year old age cohort should have higher levels of anglicization than should the 40–44 year old age group, etc. This situation is portrayed by the curve b_2. The age-specific anglicization curves for some of the age cohorts are conceptually represented by the broken lines. Since each older age cohort is somewhat less anglicized, the anglicization curve as a whole descends right after the age of thirty-five.

Methodologically, the existence of an age structure of language transfer indicates the general rate of anglicization for cohorts under age thirty-five. Returning to our two Canadian examples, Table 1 shows that the general anglicization rate of the French mother tongue group is 1.5 percent in Quebec and 29.9 percent in Ontario. The curves of anglicization by age group for both regions are presented in Figures 3 and 4.

The anglicization curve for Quebec appears to be virtually flat. In fact, there is a slight curvilinear pattern which conforms to expectation. The only age group in

[3]The reader should observe that this analysis is a classic demographic analysis of age cohorts. No causality is implied.

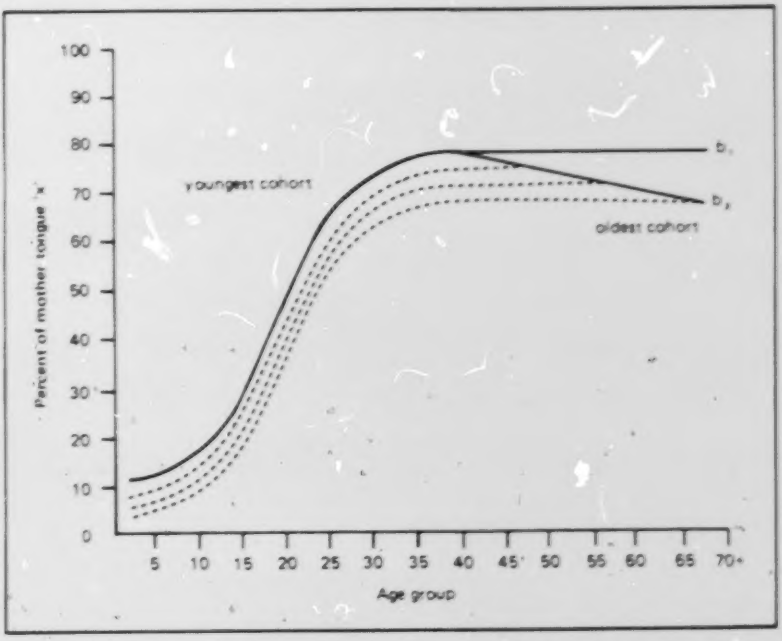

Figure 2. Theoretic distribution of language transfers, by age under conditions of increasing language transfer rates and stable language transfer rates.

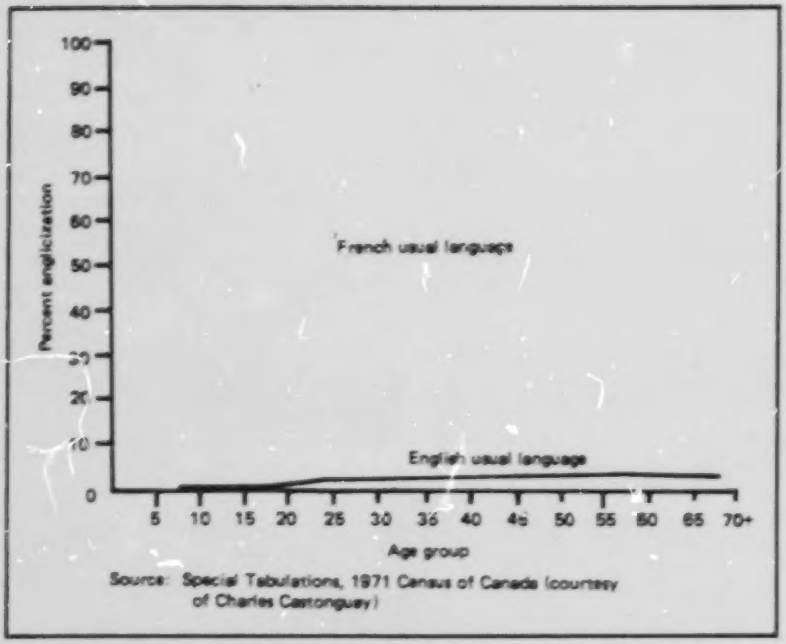

Figure 3. Percentage of persons of French mother tongue with English usual language, by age group: Quebec, 1971.

which anglicization is less than one percent is the youngest group. The 35–44 and 45–64 age groups each have anglicization rates of just under 2.1 percent. The major impression to be derived from this figure is the relatively low level of attraction which English appears to exercise in Quebec. Part of the explanation for this phenomenon is the existence of regional variation in Quebec. Thus, the anglicization rates are somewhat higher in the Montreal area and in the part of Quebec adjacent to Ottawa, but they are very low in the interior regions of Quebec (Castonguay, 1974). In fact, in these interior regions there is an important francization of the English-speaking population.[4]

The relationship between the anglicization curve for Ontario and the theoretical expectations derived from Figures 1 and 2 is even more clear. Anglicization begins somewhat slowly and accelerates rapidly in the young adult years, while it appears to have been somewhat weaker in the past, conforming to the anglicization curve of Figure 2. In this case the general anglicization rate of 29.9 percent severely underestimates the anglicization already completed by those aged 35–44 (almost 40 percent) and which may be expected to occur for still younger age groups. The general rate is an underestimate because the youngest cohorts have not yet completed their language shift, and because the older cohorts are not as anglicized as the cohorts currently completing their linguistic pilgrimage.

[4]It is not without interest that Castonguay has found that the age curve for francization in these regions also follows the expected pattern.

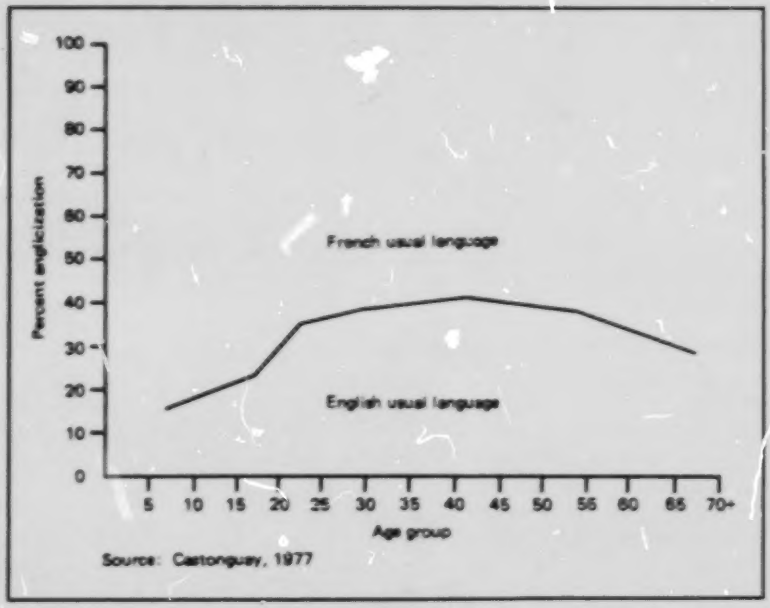

Figure 4. Percentage of persons of French mother tongue with English usual language, by age group: Ontario, 1971.

II. Linguistic Assimilation in the United States

The same type of data matrices and anglicization curves can be constructed for the United States from the 1976 Survey of Income and Education. However, since there is virtually no movement from the English language population into other language groups, the analysis will be confined to the anglicization of non-English language groups.

Although the American language questions are similar to those asked in the 1971 Census of Canada, there are some important differences. The mother tongue question in the Survey of Income and Education asked "What language was usually spoken in this person's home when he was a child?" This question is somewhat broader in scope than the Canadian question, since it does not require that the person himself should have spoken that language.[5] The Canadian question is too tightly drawn in the other direction; a person who no longer understands his first language is required to report as mother tongue his second language learned. It is likely in relatively stable linguistic situations, such as Quebec, that either question would solicit identical responses. However, where a language group is undergoing linguistic assimilation, the American question will permit larger numbers of persons to legitimately claim the language being

[5] In fact, some six percent of the unmarried 15–17 year olds living in homes where the Spanish language is most frequently spoken were reported to have English mother tongues. The comparable figure is eight percent for the German language and nine percent for the Italian language. If the foreign born were excluded, the figures would be somewhat higher.

assimilated as a mother tongue. Consequently, estimates of anglicization in the United States will likely be somewhat higher than similar estimates obtained from the 1971 Census of Canada.

Secondly, the mother tongue question in the Survey of Income and Education was not asked of children aged 0–13. It appears that those who wrote the questionnaire assumed that the usual household language ("What language do people in this household usually speak here at home?") was the mother tongue of younger children living in the household. This assumption can be readily tested by examining the relationship between mother tongue and usual household language for unmarried 15–17 year olds. When the usual household language is English, its imputation as the mother tongue of younger children is likely to produce sizeable errors. Thus, Spanish was reported as a mother tongue for approximately twenty-eight percent of the 15–17 year olds living in the United States households where the usual language was English but where in addition Spanish was spoken frequently.[6] Consequently, the anglicization rates contained in this report for persons aged 4–13[7] are likely to be seriously underestimated, because a sizeable number of children were assigned to English rather than to an appropriate mother tongue.[8] The importance of ascertaining the mother tongue of children by asking the relevant question is evident.

Thirdly, although the American usual language question is very similar to that of the Canadian census, it appears to be more general in nature. The question, "What language does this person usually speak?" does not specify any relevant context for understanding the question. The respondent is likely to spend the better part of his day at work or at school, two domains where the English language is more likely to be used than at home. The American question appears to encourage the respondent to answer English to this question, at least when compared to the Canadian question which specifies the home context.

Speaking quite generally, the two American language questions should tend to cause higher estimates of anglicization than would be the case had the Canadian questions been administered to the same respondents. Nonetheless, the process of anglicization is so advanced in the United States that this issue tends to lose significance when the actual data on anglicization are presented. For example, if the anglicization rates for Texas were much closer to those of Quebec, then this issue would have greater importance. But since the anglicization rates in the United States are substantially higher for all language groups in all regions, the exact relationship between the Canadian and American data has much less significance.

In two important respects the Survey of Income and Education data are markedly superior to those of the Census of Canada. The Canadian census data do not permit a distinction to be drawn between making a language shift to English with retention of the mother tongue as a second language and making such a

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[6] After the usual household language question, the interviewer asked, "Do the people in this household often speak another language?" The appropriate language was then obtained.

[7] No language information was obtained in the SIE for children three years of age and under.

[8] For most language groups, the total numbers of young children are so small that this underestimation is relatively unimportant.

transfer accompanied by the abandonment of the mother tongue.[9] The data derived from the Survey of Income and Education permit such a distinction to be made because in addition to the usual language question, a question also determined whether or not another language was frequently spoken by the individual from whom the data were being collected. This second language question was worded, "Does this person often speak another language?" If the response was affirmative, the language was determined. There is rather obviously some ambiguity to the meaning of the word "often."[10] Nonetheless, there is some importance to be attached to this word. A language which is not judged by the respondent to be "often" spoken must necessarily be less important to him than one which is often spoken. Although we shall refer in this report to the *rate of (English) monolingualism*, properly speaking one cannot assume complete abandonment of one's mother tongue from a negative response to the second language question. The respondent may indeed still speak the language from time to time or with particular persons, but in his or her own judgment no longer speaks it on a regular basis or as an important daily language. In our view such usage is vestigial or perhaps folkloric in character. Since the concern in this report is with the effects of current language usage on future language use, this type of usage is considered relatively unimportant and is not expected to produce bilingualism in succeeding generations.

The Survey of Income and Education also contains data on both the usual language spoken in a household and on the presence of a second language. Consequently, it is possible to detect the presence of English monolinguals living in households where a non-English language is either the principal household language or a second household language. The presence of such monolinguals, those persons who do not "often" speak the non-English language, permits the calculation of still one more measure of the impact of the English language on minority languages in the United States.

Method of Analysis

The goal of the entire analysis is an appraisal of the survival prospects of minority language groups in the United States. First of all, we shall examine the extent to which anglicization has already affected the principal ethno-linguistic groups which are the subject of this report.[11] Then, we shall begin the analysis of minority language groups per se by examining the principal language groups' age distribution. The patterns of language shift will then be examined for both the foreign born and the native born. Before proceeding with a more regionalized analysis of specific language groups, those language groups which cannot reasonably be expected to survive, given their high rates of anglicization, will be

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[9]Since the Canadian question requires that the mother tongue be "still understood," by definition the persons could not be monolingual. Monolingual responses were recoded.

[10]Generally, there is a high degree of coherence to the SIE data. One rarely finds monolingual Spanish children living in English usual language households or vice versa.

[11]By ethno-linguistic, we mean to indicate an ethnic identification which is normally associated with a non-English language.

eliminated in the interests of parsimony. Subsequently, an age-specific analysis for the retained groups will be presented. And finally, the extent of English monolingualism will be examined for young people living in households where a non-English language is spoken.

i. The extent of the anglicization of American ethno-linguistic groups. Let us assume that the vast majority of persons reporting a specific ethno-linguistic identity are descendants of persons who spoke that language, such as Italian. It is possible to obtain a preliminary estimate of the extent to which the Italian language group has been anglicized prior to the 1976 SIE. This estimate is derived by comparing the percentage of native born persons reporting no Italian background[12] with the total number of native born persons of Italian ethnic ancestry. This estimate is undoubtedly only roughly approximate since most ethnic groups are characterized by a certain proportion of intermarriages, and since many persons insist on an "American" self-identification. This latter problem in particular should cause these estimates of anglicization to be perceived as minimal estimates of the extent of anglicization. These data are presented in Table 2.[13]

Table 2 reveals varying amounts of monolingualism in the native born population aged 15 and over. The German and Scandinavian groups have the highest incidence of monolingualism, although most native born ethnic groups have figures in excess of fifty percent. The general conclusion to be drawn from this table is that the principal ethno-linguistic groups including Spanish has already undergone a good deal of anglicization prior to 1976. Over 1.4 million native born persons aged 15 and over had no Spanish language background or current usage as defined. This figure represents over thirty percent of the native born Spanish ethno-linguistic group.

[12]No Italian or other non-English language background is defined as consisting of living in English monolingual households, being of English mother tongue, and reporting no second language as frequently spoken.

[13]Sample sizes are not adequate to permit analysis of the Korean and Vietnamese ethno-linguistic groups.

Table 2. Percentage of persons aged 15 and over of English monolingual language background, selected ethno-linguistic groups, native born: United States, 1976

Language Group	*Total*	*Monolingual*	*Percent*
Chinese	123,414	55,582	45.0
Filipino	98,259	71,643	72.7
French	2,930,096	1,907,584	65.1
German*	1,394,321	1,203,645	86.3
Greek	312,990	155,397	49.6
Italian	5,166,001	3,675,171	71.1
Japanese	396,745	212,725	53.8
Polish*	331,356	184,510	55.7
Portuguese	389,042	232,131	59.7
Scandinavian	329,815	269,624	81.8
Spanish	4,539,832	1,416,062	31.1
Native American	872,849	671,646	76.9

*10 percent sample

Source: Survey of Income and Education.

Given such extensive anglicization in the past, it is not surprising that the SIE sample sizes for persons of non-English mother tongue are generally rather small. In addition, we have subdivided the mother tongue population by place of birth. In subsequent analyses, they have been further divided by region and age group. Since the sample sizes decline as we move through successive phases of the analysis, the reliability of the estimates also decline. We shall follow the general sociological practice of exploiting the data collected in this sample and ignore for the most part the issue of reliability. For those concerned with this matter, the following observations must suffice.[14]

First of all, the SIE data are markedly superior in quality to any data base ever collected in the United States. The 1970 Census question is hopelessly inclusive in its definition of mother tongue.[15] The SIE question for mother tongue is more appropriately drawn, this being the sole national study for which such a question has been included. Consequently, if we wish to know anything about language processes in the United States, we must use the SIE data base. Secondly, the SIE national sample itself is extraordinarily large (440,815 person records and 151,170 households). The total Spanish ethno-linguistic sample for persons aged 14 and over numbers 12,096 persons. This sample is larger than many used in current sociological analyses.

Finally, there is strong internal consistency in the data. The same patterns are found from language group to language group. Groups with high anglicization rates on one measure have high anglicization levels on other measures. Furthermore, the incidence of certain phenomena are associated indeed with the appropriate antecedent conditions. For example, bilingual children are found rarely in monolingual households, while monolingual English children are not found in households where the English language is not spoken or where the parents do not speak English well.[16] Moreover, the patterns revealed in the data conform to the model of age structuring documented by Castonguay. That is, the American data conform to processes already documented in other countries and for other language groups. Taken together these observations should induce greater confidence in the reliability of the patterns revealed by the SIE than might be warranted by some of the reduced sample sizes on which the patterns are based.

ii. Age distribution of minority language groups. Turning now to the analysis of the minority language groups per se, the age distribution is presented by ten year age categories. The sample parameter imposed for the construction of these age groups includes only persons of non-English mother tongue. Notably excluded are persons of English mother tongue who are bilingual in a second language. Generally speaking, these persons have been excluded for three reasons. First of all, they represent a relatively small proportion of the total size of most language groups. Secondly, the percentage of such persons declines rapidly after child-

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[14]The reader for whom this matter assumes primordial importance is invited to consider this report successively more exploratory in nature as the sample sizes decline.

[15]"What language, other than English, was spoken in this person's home when (s)he was a child?" The census reinterview study revealed that a non-English answer was provided even when only the most tangential language use was reported. For a discussion, see Veltman (1977).

[16]We shall deal with the patterns of childhood language use much more fully in a subsequent report.

hood, presumably because they establish English monolingual households. And finally, the subject of this report concerns language shift from specific non-English mother tongues. Accordingly, little advantage is gained by constructing the age cohorts on a different basis. All things considered, the omission of this group does not alter the substantive conclusions which may be derived from Table 3.

A rapid survey of Table 3 shows that the French, German, Italian, Polish, and Scandinavian language groups are characterized by high proportions of persons aged 40 and over, after the child-bearing years. Consequently, these cohorts will make no further contribution to the linguistic structure of the group. Since these age cohorts have already been reduced by mortality, an important percentage of the language group has already disappeared. Had we made adjustments for differential mortality, the proportions of younger people would have been still lower, indicating a more rapid decline in the total language group numbers than that observed in the table.

Somewhat similar, although less extreme, observations apply to the age cohort structure of the Japanese, Filipino, Greek and Portuguese language groups. Although the population is more evenly distributed throughout the age categories, relatively high percentages are found in the age groups aged 40 and over.

Table 3. Distribution of selected non-English mother tongue groups, by ten year age groups: United States, 1976

Age Distributions								
Age Group	*Italian*		*French*		*German*		*Filipino*	
0–9	64,491	(2.8)	41,982	(3.2)	36,124	(1.7)	31,287	(8.5)
10–19	82,259	(3.5)	47,589	(3.7)	42,594	(2.0)	24,403	(6.6)
20–29	141,044	(6.0)	112,607	(8.7)	112,457	(5.3)	73,227	(19.8)
30–39	208,141	(8.9)	199,344	(15.3)	228,260	(10.7)	101,033	(27.3)
40–49	379,411	(16.2)	256,760	(19.8)	309,854	(14.5)	48,401	(13.1)
50–59	574,178	(24.6)	252,150	(19.4)	359,748	(16.9)	20,385	(5.5)
60–69	488,507	(20.9)	207,125	(15.9)	430,609	(20.2)	43,370	(11.7)
70 +	398,908	(17.1)	181,149	(13.9)	610,975	(28.7)	28,045	(7.6)
Age Group	*Spanish*		*Scandinavian*		*Chinese*		*Japanese*	
0–9	1,241,664	(16.6)	6,406	(1.1)	60,276	(13.4)	12,955	(4.0)
10–19	1,289,290	(17.2)	4,010	(0.7)	40,573	(9.0)	7,814	(2.4)
20–29	1,458,111	(19.5)	18,851	(3.3)	103,926	(23.1)	25,677	(8.0)
30–39	1,228,101	(16.4)	29,253	(5.1)	79,104	(17.6)	44,794	(14.0)
40–49	985,122	(13.2)	58,243	(10.1)	62,576	(13.9)	77,055	(24.0)
50–59	647,585	(8.6)	87,465	(15.2)	39,124	(8.7)	81,804	(25.5)
60–69	367,927	(4.9)	138,696	(24.0)	39,347	(8.7)	24,679	(7.7)
70 +	269,749	(3.6)	233,855	(40.5)	24,786	(5.5)	46,182	(14.4)
Age Group	*Polish*		*Portuguese*		*Native American*		*Greek*	
0–9	4,850	(0.4)	40,067	(10.1)	38,089	(15.5)	47,000	(11.0)
10–19	16,606	(1.2)	39,730	(10.0)	55,127	(22.5)	29,342	(6.8)
20–29	59,864	(4.5)	44,914	(11.3)	44,785	(18.3)	57,051	(13.3)
30–39	143,635	(10.8)	42,939	(10.8)	34,983	(14.3)	64,619	(15.1)
40–49	169,148	(12.7)	55,358	(14.0)	28,933	(11.8)	86,169	(20.1)
50–59	381,331	(28.6)	73,743	(18.6)	19,371	(7.9)	60,405	(14.1)
60–69	345,659	(25.9)	59,444	(15.0)	12,695	(5.2)	41,284	(9.6)
70 +	212,686	(16.0)	40,507	(10.2)	11,178	(4.6)	42,947	(10.0)

However, the decline in the total size of these language groups appears less rapid than those of the previous groups.

Finally, there are three language groups which appear to have a more normal age pyramid structure; the Spanish, Native American and Chinese language groups. The largest age category in each is aged 20 to 30; and there are still important contingents of children. Given the relative size of the Spanish language group, it is not surprising that most Federal policy is directed toward the Spanish language group. The Chinese and Native American groups previously considered have relatively few children.[17]

iii. Anglicization among the foreign born. The data contained in Table 3 simply report the age distribution of persons having specific non-English mother tongues. While these data provide a general impression of the relative decline or stability of the various language groups, they do not reveal the extent to which these groups maintain their mother tongues as usual language. For example, it should not be assumed that all immigrants to the United States retain their mother tongue as their usual personal language. The 1971 Census of Canada revealed extensive anglicization of the foreign born, although some groups appear more disposed than others to surrender their languages during the immigrant generation (Veltman, 1975; Kralt, 1976). The linguistic pilgrimage of the foreign born is important because the degree of language retention and the type of language shift will have an impact both on the number of native born children who may be expected to have non-English mother tongues and on the number of English mother tongue children who may be expected to have non-English second languages.[18] If there is already substantial movement to an English usual language position among the foreign born, there will be larger numbers of children having English mother tongues. If that movement to English takes the form of English monolingualism[19] instead of English-dominant bilingualism,[20] there will be larger numbers of English mother tongue children who are monolingual rather than bilingual.[21]

We cannot be certain that the types and rates of linguistic assimilation which characterized language groups in 1976 were similar to those which prevailed in the past (when, for example, there were larger numbers of French Canadian and German immigrants). Nonetheless, we can examine the 1976 data to obtain an appreciation of the current language-shift rates among the foreign born. These data are presented in Table 4.

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[17]We do not mean to minimize the adaptive problems which LESA children or adults in these groups may experience. We simply note that the Spanish language group dwarfs all other groups by comparison.

[18]We use the term "may be expected" since women aged 40 and over have already completed their child-bearing, while younger women have not. We shall speak in the text as though the current (1976) measure of anglicization has not as yet affected the language characteristics of the children, whereas it obviously has in a large number of cases. Properly speaking, we are suggesting that if future anglicization rates resemble those of 1976, certain consequences will ensue in terms of children's language patterns.

[19]Where the mother tongue is no longer "often" spoken.

[20]Where the mother tongue is "often" spoken but where English is the language usually spoken.

[21]Given the assumption that parental language use is determinative of children's language use. Actually, under conditions of anglicization, the children are more anglicized than their parents as a general rule.

Table 4. Language shift patterns, by mother tongue, foreign born, aged 15 or over: United States, 1976*

Language Group	Percent English Usual Language			Percent Non-English Usual Language			Weighted Sample
				Competency in English			
	Total	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total	High	Low	
Chinese	34.3	6.1	28.2	65.8	35.8	30.0	321,997
Filipino	61.8	15.4	46.4	38.2	31.8	6.4	308,318
French	73.3	33.5	39.8	26.7	21.3	5.4	332,032
German	92.3	49.7	42.6	7.7	6.3	1.4	931,548
Greek	46.2	9.9	36.3	53.8	29.9	22.9	234,234
Italian	65.3	27.6	37.7	34.7	18.4	16.3	892,566
Japanese	53.4	21.4	31.9	46.6	16.3	30.2	149,442
Polish	64.8	27.6	37.2	35.2	21.9	13.3	301,444
Portuguese	38.2	11.8	26.4	61.8	25.6	36.2	201,462
Scandinavian	94.9	65.2	29.7	5.1	4.4	0.7	210,346
Spanish	28.7	3.5	25.2	71.3	27.8	43.5	3,141,246

*Data are not presented for the 1,491 estimated Native Americans born outside the U.S.

Source: Survey of Income and Education.

The principal analytic categories contained in Table 4 are based on the usual language spoken by the respondent. Accordingly, subtotals are presented for each of the two following subcategories: English usual language and non-English usual language. The sub-categories are provided principally for the purposes of a more refined analysis. When the usual personal language is English, bilingualism is defined by the frequent usage of the mother tongue as a second language, monolingualism by the failure to speak the mother tongue "often."

On the other hand, when a non-English language is the language usually spoken, the respondents have been divided into those who speak English "well" or "very well," and those who do not speak well or not at all. The former are considered to have "high" competency in English in Table 4; the latter, "low" competency. This division is by no means unimportant. As Lieberson (1975) has shown, persons who do speak English well act as a brake on the anglicization of other members of the linguistic group. The others are required to maintain their non-English language skills. Since there are so few persons who claimed not to speak English at all (and virtually none outside the Spanish language group), the competency concept was introduced to indicate the number who generally require that the non-English language continue to be maintained.[22]

[22] It should be made clear to those interested in the educational problems of non-English-speaking people that the ability to speak English is a self-reported ability or an ability reported for other members of the household. The perceptions of the ability to speak English well are likely to refer to the ability to speak the language colloquially (which from the standpoint of textbook English may be rather poorly even for persons of the English mother tongue); these perceptions should not be understood as evaluations of the ability to speak sufficiently well to avoid problems with the English language in more formal settings, such as in educational institutions. Thus, LESA estimates should be higher than estimates of the inability to speak English well derived from self-reports.

With the help of Table 4, let us consider the extent to which the foreign born may be expected to pass along non-English mother tongues to their children. If everyone who maintains his mother tongue as a usual language may be presumed to raise children of non-English mother tongue, the resulting percentage persons is represented by the "total" column of "non-English usual language." The figures contained in this column may also be defined as the general rate of retention of the mother tongue as the usual personal language. In the case of the Filipino, French, Italian, Japanese, German, Polish, and Scandinavian language groups, the general retention rate was less than fifty percent in the foreign born generation.[23] For all other language groups, less than three-fourths may have been expected to raise children of non-English mother tongues. The most likely to do so was the Spanish language group, just over seven in ten persons retained Spanish as their usual personal language.

An examination of this table makes it apparent that immigrant language groups seem relatively well disposed to making English their usual personal language. They subordinate their mother tongue to the status of second languages. As in Canada, there are differences in the extent to which this is true for each language group. However, there are differences in the age composition of the various groups. The younger groups have had less exposure to the American environment. Consequently, they have had less opportunity to have learned English well and made a shift to an English usual language. This is most notably true of the foreign born population.

Table 4 also reveals differences by language group in the rates of English monolingualism among the foreign born. For example, the German and Scandinavian language groups are characterized by high anglicization rates and by high monolingualism rates. Thus the Scandinavian languages would not be transmitted even as second languages to nearly two-thirds of the foreign borns' children. The German language would not be passed on as a second language to over one-half of the children. The Italian, French, and Polish language groups are characterized by monolingualism rates of over 25 percent; these groups adopt English-dominant bilingualism as the more ordinary type of anglicization.

The lowest monolingualism rate for the foreign born language groups is that of the Spanish. The Chinese have the second lowest rate. The rate for the Greek and Portuguese groups seems low by comparison with the other foreign born groups, but its meaning should not be lost. At least one in ten Greek immigrants will not pass on the Greek language even as a second language.

Summarizing the data presented in Table 4, it appears that there is relatively rapid progress toward speaking English well in the immigrant generation. In addition, high percentages of most language groups adopt English as their usual personal language. And finally, even abandonment of the mother tongue as a second language (frequently spoken) is relatively common for the French, Italian, German, Japanese, Polish, and Scandinavian language groups. Abandonment is relatively rare for the Chinese and Spanish language groups. Even for Spanish, the most retentive language group, there seems to be a clear acceptance of the importance not only of speaking English well (56.6%) but of making English the usual language spoken (28.7%). Thus, nearly three in ten persons would not raise children of Spanish mother tongue. These figures may seem low to those who wish

[23] Conversely, the general rate of anglicization was greater than fifty percent.

immediate and complete anglicization of immigrants. However, when compared to the anglicization rates of the Quebec French language group (almost entirely native born), they are relatively elevated.

iv. Anglicization among the native born. If the immigrant generation of a language group undergoes some anglicization (and monolingualization in English), we may expect that the native born generations are exposed to still greater pressures. Such is in fact the case, as the data in Table 5 reveal.

The first observation is that the native born aged 15 and over speak English well. Nearly 8 percent of native born persons whose usual language is Spanish speak English poorly. Only the Native American group has a higher rate of 21 percent.

Secondly, this table reveals a dramatic increase in the anglicization rates. With the exception of the Native Americans and the Spanish, all groups have anglicization rates of 85 percent or over. This 85 percent figure indicates that there will be virtually no children of non-English mother tongue in the succeeding generation. For these language groups, we conclude that the existence of the non-English language as a dominant, first language depends entirely on new or continued immigration. The native born complete the process of making English their usual language begun in the immigrant generation.

Monolingualism rates for these language groups are also elevated. Most groups except the Chinese attain 50 percent. Therefore, more than one-half of the native born persons of non-English mother tongue will not transmit that language (even as a second language) to the next generation.

However, only slightly more than one in three persons of Spanish mother tongue may be expected to transmit the Spanish language as a mother tongue. Nearly one

Table 5. Language shift patterns, by mother tongue, native born, aged 15 or over: United States, 1976

Language Group	Percent English Usual Language			Percent Non-English Usual Language			Weighted Sample
				Competency in English			
	Total	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total	High	Low	
Chinese	90.0	29.3	60.7	10.0	9.0	1.1	46,329
Filipino	96.9	67.6	29.3	3.1	2.6	0.5	18,885
French	87.1	54.7	32.4	12.9	9.5	3.4	881,892
German	96.6	85.6	11.0	3.4	3.3	0.1	1,151,427
Greek	93.3	47.2	46.1	6.7	2.4	4.3	139,950
Italian	98.6	75.8	22.8	1.4	1.1	0.3	1,345,526
Japanese	90.3	55.2	35.1	9.7	4.1	5.6	156,083
Native American	45.2	19.2	26.0	54.8	33.8	21.0	181,475
Polish	97.7	73.5	24.3	2.3	2.0	0.3	983,874
Portuguese	96.5	59.3	37.2	3.5	2.2	1.3	141,186
Scandinavian	99.6	87.7	11.9	0.4	0.4	0.0	395,141
Spanish	64.4	13.7	50.7	35.6	22.8	7.9	2,484,140

Source: Survey of Income and Education.

in seven would not transmit it as a second language. Although one in five Native Americans fully has abandoned the language, more than half should transmit it as a mother tongue to the next generation.

Summarizing the data for the native born, in their view most persons come to achieve a good colloquial knowledge of English. The principal exception is found among Native Americans. Secondly the anglicization rates are extraordinarily high for all language groups except the Spanish and Native Americans; only the latter has an anglicization rate below 50%. And finally, for most language groups, the higher than 50 percent monolingualization rate indicates the disappearance of the mother tongue even as a second language.

v. Regional variations in language shifting. For three language groups some further analysis of regional variations in language shift seems desirable. The relevant data for the French, Spanish, and Native American language groups[24] are presented in Table 6. These groups are retained for further analysis because their general anglicization rate was less than 80 percent. There are regional variations for the French language group.[25] Only census Region 8 permits the construction of a subsample for Native American languages. In all other regions over 80 percent of the sample is composed of monolingual English-speaking persons. Since the Navajo language remains strong in Region 8, we have restricted our sample to the states of Arizona and New Mexico.[26]

Inspecting Table 6, we note that there is indeed regional variation in the patterns of language retention for the French and Spanish language groups. Consider first of all the French language group. There are virtually no immigrants to Louisiana. With respect to the other two regions, the southern New England group is substantially more anglicized than the Northern New England group. Fully four-fifths of the former have made English their usual language; while slightly more than half of the latter have done so. The monolingualism rates vary in the same fashion, being substantially higher in Southern than in Northern New England. With respect to retentive persons, one finds French language immigrants who do not speak English well only in Northern New England.

Turning to the Spanish language groups, anglicization is higher in the Rocky Mountain states than elsewhere. In all regions except Texas, it is over 20 percent. In Texas the anglicization rate is 15 percent among the foreign born, the significance of which should not be lost. Even where the personal ties of the foreign born are both relatively recent and geographically close (i.e., Mexico), fifteen percent of the foreign born have raised or will raise children of English mother tongue. Since the anglicization rates are still higher in other regions, it is apparent that the Spanish language groups share in the general acceptance of the English "fact" in the United States.

As may have been anticipated, the anglicization and monolingualization of the native born is even more pronounced. With the exception of the Navajo language group in the Southwest and the Spanish language group of Texas, all the regional

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[24]Children have been included by imputing the usual household language as the mother tongue.

[25]There are so few native born Chinese that a regional analysis does not seem appropriate (see Table 5).

[26]In Region 8 as a whole, 28.6 percent of the Native American sample (14 +) is monolingual in English.

Table 6. Language shift patterns, by mother tongue and region, foreign born, selected language groups and regions: United States, 1976

Language Group	Percent English Usual Language			Percent Non-English Usual Language			Weighted Sample
				Competency in English			
	Total	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total	High	Low	
Foreign Born							
French:							
Northern New England	50.6	32.1	18.5	49.4	33.1	16.3	35,050
Southern New England	81.5	48.1	33.5	18.5	16.2	2.3	64,581
Spanish:							
Metropolitan New York	30.4	28.7	1.8	69.6	31.2	38.4	999,220
Florida	25.4	24.5	0.8	74.6	37.5	37.1	444,635
North Central States	32.5	29.0	3.4	67.5	27.9	39.6	227,845
Texas	15.4	14.5	0.9	84.6	27.1	57.5	356,819
New Mexico	23.1	21.4	1.7	76.9	24.9	52.0	20,823
Arizona	30.5	27.3	3.2	69.4	34.6	34.8	46,566
California	29.8	27.9	1.9	70.5	22.2	48.3	749,792
Rocky Mountains	48.1	39.7	8.5	51.9	23.2	28.7	30,781
Native Born							
French:							
Northern New England	83.9	43.9	40.0	16.1	14.6	1.5	131,562
Southern New England	95.2	34.3	60.9	4.8	4.3	0.5	200,345
Louisiana	74.0	37.0	37.0	26.0	17.3	8.7	311,936
Spanish:							
Metropolitan New York	62.5	56.0	6.5	37.5	24.6	12.9	364,396
Florida	62.7	49.7	13.0	37.3	25.8	11.5	91,992
North Central States	70.8	55.8	15.0	29.2	18.0	11.2	181,477
Texas	39.9	35.4	4.5	60.1	43.5	16.6	1,093,940
New Mexico	50.7	41.3	9.4	49.3	40.4	9.0	229,098
Arizona	63.4	57.1	6.3	36.6	33.0	3.6	144,402
California	78.7	63.7	15.0	21.3	16.1	5.2	590,083
Rocky Mountains	83.6	60.1	23.5	16.4	13.2	3.3	123,528
Navajo:							
New Mexico/ Arizona	21.9	19.1	2.8	78.1	45.6	33.6	109,385

Source: Survey of Income and Education.

groups have anglicization rates of over 50 percent. If one excludes New Mexico, the rate is over 60 percent. The anglicization rates of the Spanish language groups in the Rocky Mountain states and in California are higher than those of the French language group in Louisiana. The Spanish language group has a general anglicization rate of under 50 percent only in Texas. Even in Texas, the rate is forty percent. Four in every ten native born persons of Spanish mother tongue should raise children of English mother tongue. This figure is higher than that for the Navajo language group. Similarly, half of the succeeding generation should be expected to have Spanish for a mother tongue in New Mexico. Only three in eight will retain it in New York, Florida, and Arizona. Only one in five will have the Spanish mother tongue in California and the Rocky Mountain states.

These data oblige us to conclude that Spanish as a dominant first language is rapidly disappearing in the United States. Certain regions have a faster rate than others. The anglicization rates are very high in all regions for the native born. The most retentive region is southern and rural Texas. Although the abandonment rates among the native born are clearly lower for the Spanish language groups than for the French, they are above ten percent in the Rocky Mountain states, the Midwest, California, and Florida. These figures suggest that the retention of Spanish as a subordinate, second language is in jeopardy in these regions, particularly if the English-dominant bilinguals do not succeed in rearing equally bilingual children. The lower monolingualism rates for New York, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas suggest the future maintenance of important bilingual population. Insofar as English-dominant bilingualism is intergenerationally transmitted, the continual losses into the English monolingual population should occur at a more moderate rate than in the previously mentioned regions.

vi. Age-specific language shift rates among the native born. Our concern in the previous sections was to describe the amounts and types of language shift occurring in the minority language groups. Depending on the place of birth, the language group, and the region of the country, the general picture demonstrated varying levels of language shifting to English. However, even the general rate of anglicization reported for all native born seriously underestimates the current levels of anglicization and monolingualization. This is true for two reasons. First of all, the accelerating processes of anglicization and abandonment have resulted in the higher levels of language shift for the younger age cohorts than do the older age groups. Secondly, the adoption of English dominant bilingualism by parents is not invariably transmitted to their children, a substantial but varying number of the latter being monolingual in English. In this section, we shall consider age-specific language shift rates; in the next, the results of parental English-dominant bilingualism.

Tables 5 and 6 have revealed anglicization rates which are so high for most language groups that the construction of age-specific rates is not warranted. Anglicization rates of upwards of eighty-five percent are so high that the imminent dissolution of the language group is clearly inevitable. However, we shall present age-specific anglicization curves for all language groups which have general anglicization rates below this level: they are two French language groups, the Navajo language, and eight Spanish language groups already identified.

The age-specific language shift curves for these ten groups are presented in Figures 5 through 15. There are three curves drawn in each figure. Among

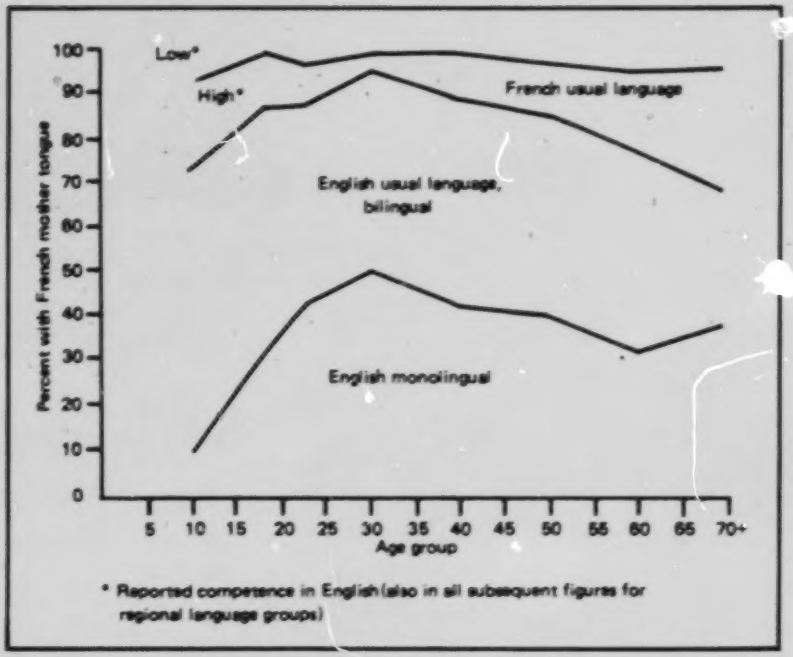


Figure 5. Percentage distribution of language shift, by persons of French mother tongue, by age group, native born: Northern New England, 1976.

persons who have retained a non-English usual language as their usual personal language; the upper curve distinguishes persons with low English language competencies from those with high competencies. The middle curve distinguishes between persons who have retained the non-English language as their usual language and those who have made English their usual language. This is the anglicization curve: all persons below it have made language transfers to English. The lower curve distinguishes between those who have retained their mother tongue as a frequently spoken second language and those who no longer speak the mother tongue "often." Thus, four areas of each figure may be distinguished by the labels. The space above the upper curve represents the proportion of persons who have retained their mother tongue as their usual language and do not speak English well. The space between the upper curve and the middle curve represents the proportion of retentive persons who do speak English well. The space between the middle curve and the lower curve represents the proportion of persons of English usual language who retain the mother tongue as a frequently spoken second language. The space below the lower curve represents the proportion of those who have effectively abandoned their mother tongue.

Although the sample sizes are frequently too small to produce completely

smooth curves,[27] the age-specific patterns of language transfer noted by Castonguay are unmistakably present. For example, the anglicization of the French language group of Northern New England peaks at ages 25–34 and then descends for each older age group. This appears to hold true for the two other language shift curves, although there are very few persons of French mother tongue who have low English language competence. The importance of the age-specific anglicization rates can be assessed by comparing them with the general rates reported in Table 4. While the general anglicization rate for the native born was 84 percent and the general abandonment rate was 40 percent; the age-specific anglicization rate was 96 percent and the abandonment rate was 40 percent; the age-specific anglicization rate was 96 percent and the abandonment rate was 51 percent for the 25–34 year old age group. The presence of the less anglicized older cohorts, and of the younger cohorts (who have not been emancipated completely from parental language constraints) causes the general rate of anglicization (and apparently of other types of language shift as well) to underestimate the rates affecting groups currently attaining maturity.

The language shift curves for Louisiana, presented in Figure 6, are rather erratic

[27] This is particularly true when only a small percentage of this group is native born, as in Florida or New York.

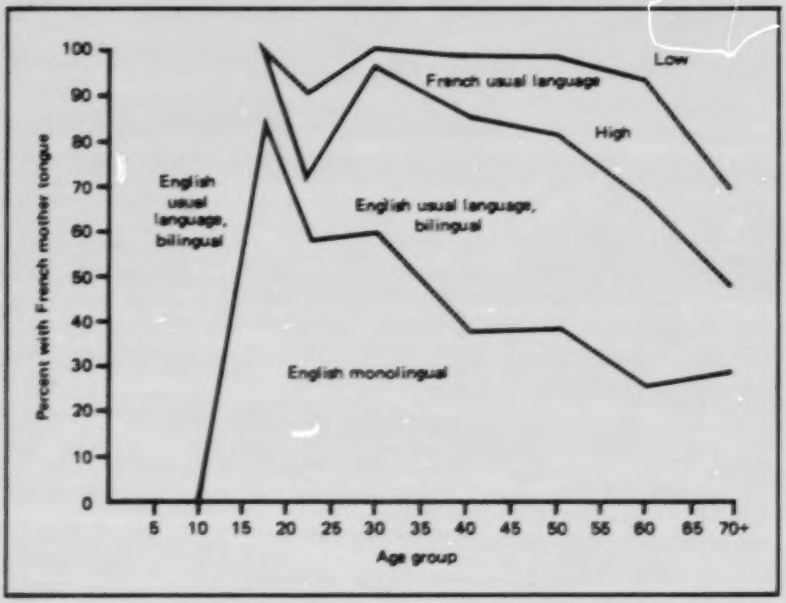


Figure 6. Percent distribution of language shift, by persons of French mother tongue, by age group, native born: Louisiana, 1976

for the younger age groups, principally because of a rapid decline in the number of persons of French mother tongue. Thus, while there are an estimated 26,400 persons in the 25–34 age group, there are only 2,050 in the age group 4–14. Nonetheless, certain patterns are clearly evident. First of all, the steepness with which the over thirty-five anglicization curve falls to the right indicates that the French language has undergone a rapid decline in this century. Almost everyone age fifty-five and younger speaks English well. There are very few English-dominant bilinguals under age thirty except for small children. Monolingualism in English continues to rise sharply. As in New England, the general rates of anglicization and abandonment underestimate the current rates with 74 percent and 37 percent, respectively. The anglicization rate of the 25-year-old cohort was 94 percent; its abandonment rate was 59 percent. Both percentages are markedly higher than the respective general rates.

Figure 7 presents partial data for the Spanish language group in the greater New York area. There are very few native born adults over age thirty-five. Although monolingualism rates are modest when compared to the French language group, they appear to be somewhat higher than the general rate of 6.5 percent. Anglicization appears to be both high and increasing. The 15–19 year old group is already more anglicized than the 20–24 year old age group or the other older age groups. Inability to speak English well appears to be a childhood phenomenon among the native born. All children either speak English well or have adopted English as their usual language by the age of fifteen.

Figure 8 presents data for the Florida Spanish language group. As in New York,

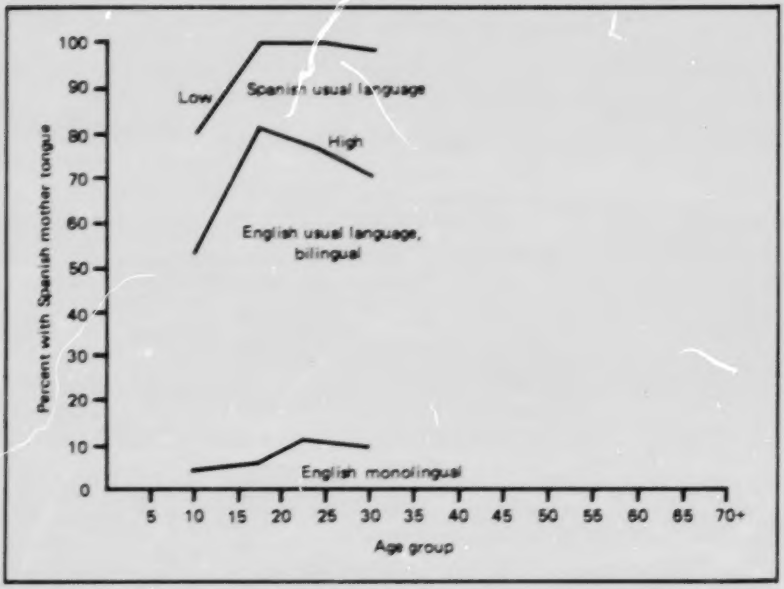


Figure 7. Percent distribution of language shift, by persons of Spanish mother tongue, by age group, native born: Metropolitan New York, 1976

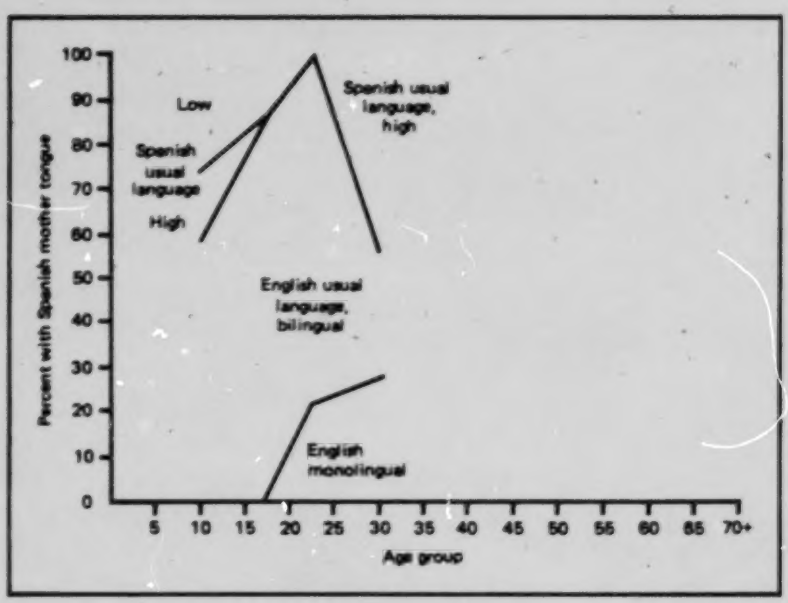


Figure 8. Percent distribution of language shift, by persons of Spanish mother tongue, by age group, native born: Florida, 1976

the inability to speak English well is a childhood phenomenon, although in Florida it does not disappear until age twenty. In spite of the very fragmentary character of the data, it appears that the native born cohorts will be completely anglicized. This is already true of the 20–24 year old age group. Anglicization appears to start at a relatively high level and to advance rapidly for the younger age groups. Finally, although the Florida sample reveals an abandonment rate of zero before the age of twenty, English monolingualism rises rapidly after that age. Nearly thirty percent attain it for the 25–34 year old age group. These data suggest that very few of the native born will retain Spanish as a usual language and that a substantial proportion will abandon it as a frequently spoken language.

The data presented in Figure 9 for the Spanish language group in the midwestern states depart the most from the classic curves. This is particularly true of the monolingualism curve, which is bi-modal in nature. We suggest that the native born over thirty-five years of age represent the first wave of immigration to the Midwest, while those under twenty-five years of age are the children of recent migrants and immigrants. The arrival of recent immigrants may have created a larger pool of Spanish-speaking people, which depressed the monolingualism rate. The apparently unaffected anglicization rates remain at a relatively constant and high level. Perhaps the level reflects the necessity of becoming English-speaking in this part of the country. While never a very important part of the language group, the population with low competence in English has declined consistently; the inability to speak English well has become nearly non-existent. Maintenance of the Spanish language as the usual language has become a relatively rare phenome-

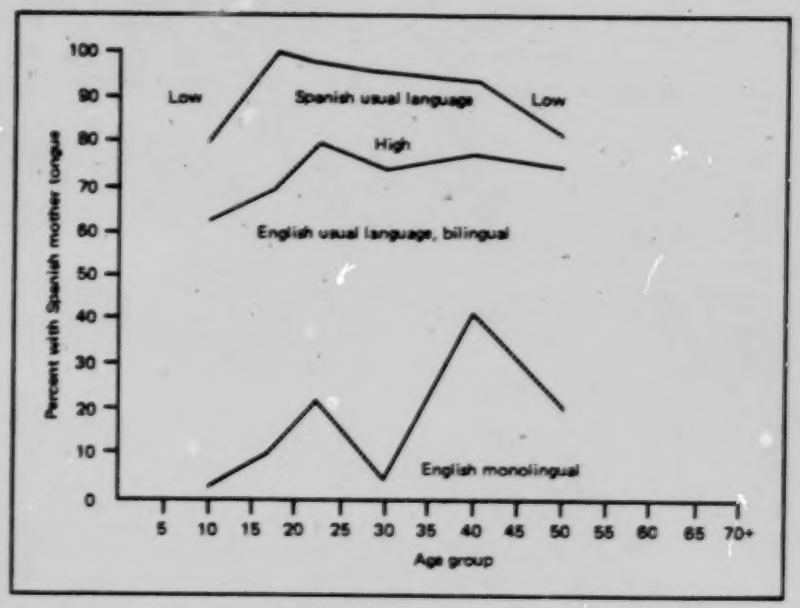


Figure 9. Percent distribution of language shift, by persons of Spanish mother tongue, by age group, native born: Midwest, 1976

non; those who speak English well have made English their usual language. The anglicization rate for the 25–34 year old age group surpasses 94 percent; the abandonment rate for the 20–24 year old cohort approaches forty percent. Both of these rates are substantially higher than the general rates reported in Table 4.

There are certain affinities between the California curves and the Rocky Mountain curves presented in Figures 10 and 11. The distribution of low competence in English is very similar. However, the younger children in California do not appear to be as heavily anglicized. A relatively sizeable proportion of persons both speak English well and retain Spanish as their usual language. However, by the age of fifteen, the anglicization rate surpasses ninety percent. There appears to be very little Spanish language retention in the age cohorts under thirty-five years of age. English monolingualism appears to have been relatively stable over time, and remains near 20 percent for the 25–34, 35–44, and 45–54 year old groups. Thus, in spite of the large size of the California Spanish language group and in spite of the large proportion of recent arrivals, the native born members of this group are among the most anglicized of the Spanish language groups in the United States.

Presented in Figure 12, the Arizona language shift curves reveal somewhat less anglicization in Arizona than prevailed in the two preceding areas of Chicano residence. Although some inability to speak English well prevailed in the past, except for a small group of children, the younger cohorts contain few persons who do not speak English well. However, there has been an important shift from

Spanish as a usual language to English as the usual language. The shift is reflected in the steep rise of the anglicization curve. While approximately 20 percent of the two oldest age groups are anglicized, the 15–19 and 20–24 year old age groups have anglicization rates already higher than 75 percent. The rates of English monolingualism appear to be both low and relatively stable over time.

The New Mexico language shift curves resemble very strongly those of Arizona. However, Figure 13 shows that the oldest age cohort was much less anglicized than the Arizona group: it included a sizeable percentage of persons who did not speak English well. This has virtually disappeared. A marked rise in anglicization as a whole has been accompanied by a slow rise in English monolingualism.

In Table 6 we have previously shown that Texas is the region where there is the least linguistic shift among Hispanics. The age-specific curves are presented in Figure 14. The curves in Figure 14 bear a strong resemblance to those for Arizona and New Mexico. They are located somewhat lower on the figure, which indicates less language shift of all types. Nonetheless, the Spanish usual language population which did not speak English well has been reduced from nearly seventy percent of the oldest cohort to virtually zero in the 20–24 year old age group. The inability to speak English well is confined now to the childhood years as it is in other parts of the country. Also, anglicization has increased rapidly in recent decades; the 15–19 year old age group already has an anglicization rate in excess of 50 percent. There has also been a slow rise in English monolingualism; both the 20–24 and 25–34 year old age groups have abandonment rates of over 8 percent.

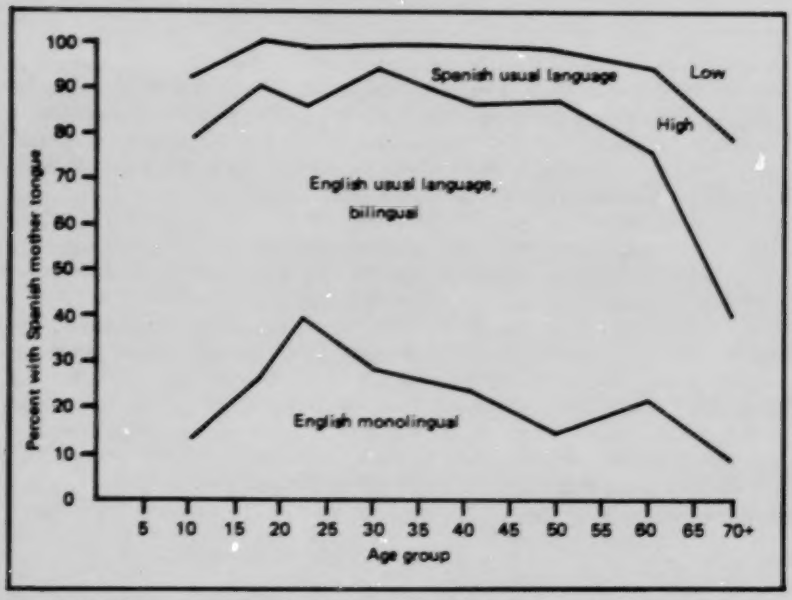


Figure 10. Percent distribution of language shift, by persons of Spanish mother tongue, by age group, native born: Rocky Mountain States, 1976

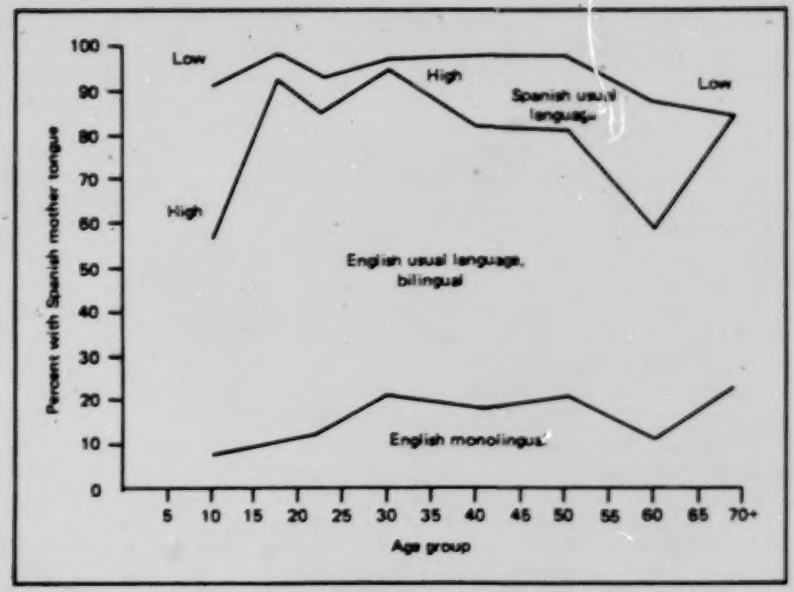


Figure 11. Percent distribution of language shift, by persons of Spanish mother tongue, by age group, native born: California, 1976

Consequently, although the Spanish language group is generally more retentive in this region than elsewhere, an examination of the Texas group's age structure indicates that the same anglicizing processes are at work here as elsewhere. What appears to be different is the position of the curves on the Figures; the older age groups in Texas are much less anglicized than older age groups elsewhere. However, the processes of anglicization are similar.

The most retentive group retained for analysis is the Navajo language group in New Mexico and Arizona. The overwhelming impression derived from Figure 15 is a rapid increase in this group's anglicization. While none of the oldest age groups have made English their usual language, nearly thirty-five percent of the 20–29 year old age group have done so. There has been a rapid increase in the percentages of persons reporting high levels of competence in English. Nearly 90 percent of the young adults declared that they spoke English well or as their usual language. Two-thirds or more of the adults aged 40 and over do not speak English well. The monolingualism rate remains very low. Thus, in general, the anglicization levels are quite a bit lower than those in Texas.[28]

Summarizing the findings for Figures 5 through 15, it appears that generally the American language groups follow the age structure of language shift previously

[28]When the entire ethno-linguistic group (Native American) is examined for these states the percentages of persons of completely anglicized background are 5 percent for persons over 70 years of age but 29 percent for young adults aged 15–19. Consequently, even with modest anglicization rates, the cumulative effects are relatively rapid.

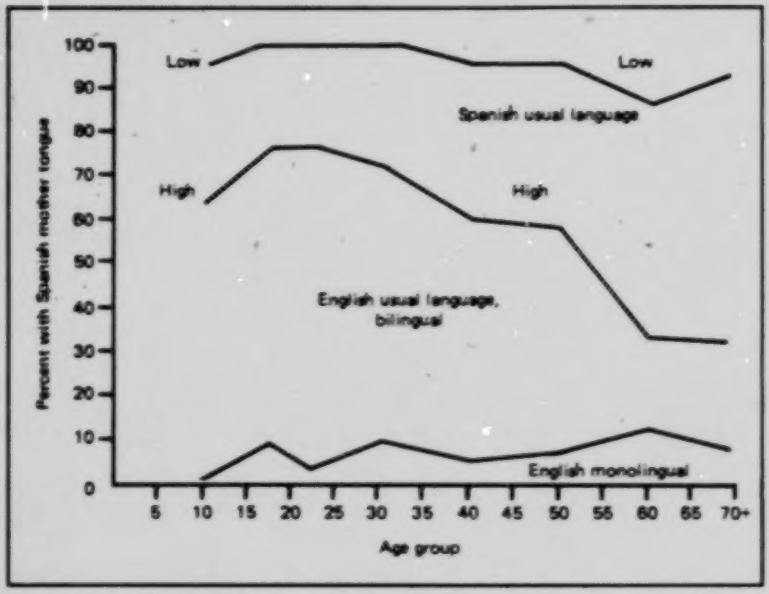


Figure 12. Percent distribution of language shift, by persons of Spanish mother tongue, by age group, native born: Arizona, 1976

documented for Canada. While strictly speaking we can only compare the anglicization curves for the two countries, the language shift curve for monolingualism in English and the curve distinguishing competence levels in English follow similar patterns. All forms of language shift away from the mother tongue accelerate as children detach themselves from their families of origin. Consequently, including the age groups which have not completed this process results in the calculation of general rates which underestimate the age group language shift. In addition, it seems plausible that language shift has been accelerating since the Second World War,[29] because the younger emancipated cohorts have higher language shift rates than the older ones. Including these latter in the calculation of general rates also creates an underestimate of the current levels of language shift, those affecting persons in the process of making the decisions associated with emancipation from the parental home. Among these decisions are those connected with child-bearing and child-rearing. Consequently, the future of a linguistic group is intimately associated with the language shift patterns of young adults and of the younger age cohorts. The language practices of these groups will determine the mother tongue and the language skills of their children. Since most child-bearing is completed by the age of thirty-five, the language shift patterns of older cohorts are relatively unimportant from this perspective. But if they are less

[29]Due presumably to such processes as rural-urban migration, industrialization, mass communications, increased schooling, etc.

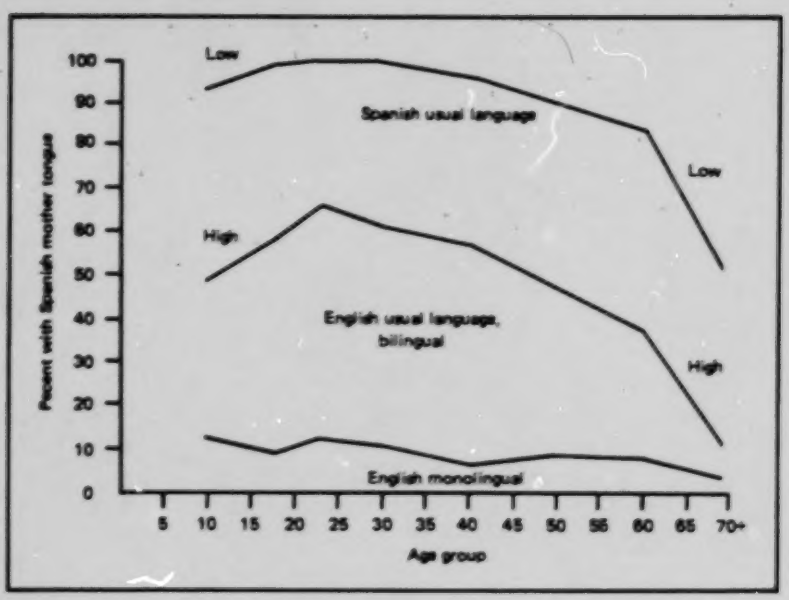


Figure 13. Percent distribution of language shift, by persons of Spanish mother tongue, by age group, native born: New Mexico, 1976

significant from the standpoint of the future reproduction of the language group, they are nonetheless quite important for providing estimates of the language shift history of the group.

The examination of age-specific language shift rates shows that they are frequently much higher for the young adult group than they are for the group as a whole (the general rate). Even for the most retentive groups, the anglicization rates for young adults are frequently ten percent higher than the general rate. Thus, the general rate for the Navajo language group is 21.9 percent, while the rate for the 20–29 year old age group is 34.7 percent. Similarly, the general anglicization rates for the Spanish language groups of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona are 39.9, 50.7, and 63.4 percent, respectively, while the rates for the 25–34 year old cohorts are 48.5, 62.1, and 72.4 percent. A similar situation exists with respect to monolingualism rates and with the rates of competence in English. The younger age groups are more frequently monolingual in English and have lower rates of the inability to speak English well.

vii. The language use patterns of children in bilingual households of English usual language. The problem which shall be addressed in this section is the nature and effects of English-dominant bilingualism. If language transfer to English is accompanied by retention of the mother tongue as a frequently spoken second language, that language in principle should be transmitted to the children of such parents as a second language. Theoretically, we should like to ascertain whether such English-dominant bilingualism is a permanent accommodation to the

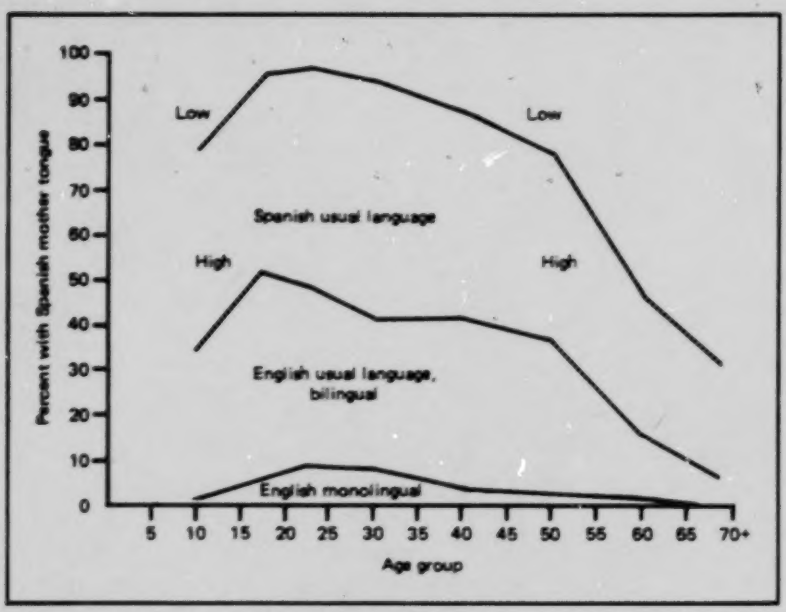


Figure 14. Percent distribution of language shift, by persons of Spanish mother tongue, by age group, native born: Texas, 1976

American environment or whether it is a transitory phenomenon for persons of non-English mother tongue, and not transmitted to their children.

The most direct way to examine this problem is to look at the language use patterns of young people of English mother tongue living in households where the usual household language is English and the second household language (i.e., a language spoken "often") is a non-English language. Since no mother tongue data are available for persons under age 14, our sample sizes will be extremely small. The sample retained consists of unmarried persons aged 14–17 living in English-dominant, bilingual households. Presumably, most of these young people are still living in the parental home. Nonetheless, it is not possible to determine whether there has been an evolution in the language usage of this age group, and if so, to what extent. All that can be determined is whether or not children of English mother tongue are monolingual in English or whether they speak the non-English household language "often."[30]

It is probably safe to assume that these people have themselves undergone some language shift. They have voluntarily abandoned the second language in many instances. However, since some of the youngest children (aged 4–9) in households where the usual language is the non-English language are already

[30]This problem may also be examined by means of the language the parents speak to their children. However, in this report, we are more interested in the results obtained (actual language use) than in the efforts expended. The role of parental language use and other parental characteristics on childhood language patterns will be examined more fully in a subsequent report.

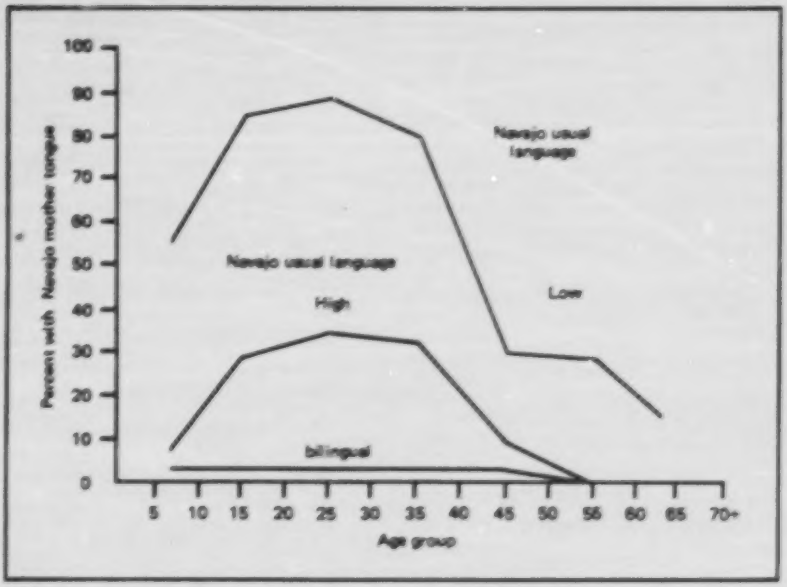


Figure 15. Percent distribution of language shift, by persons of Navajo mother tongue, by age group, native born: New Mexico and Arizona, 1976

monolingual in English, it is quite likely that their parents are not teaching them the non-English language.[31] If this is true in households where English is not the usual language spoken, it is even more likely to be true in households where English is the usual language.[32] Although it is unfortunate that we cannot adequately ascertain the evolutionary sequence involved, it is not really necessary to do so in order to establish the broad perspective, or to answer the question of the extent to which English-dominant bilingual households contain bilingual children of English mother tongue.

The data presented in Table 7 show the percentage of the unmarried 14–17 year olds of English mother tongue who are bilingual in the non-English second household language.[33] An examination of the data reveals that the percentages of bilinguals of English mother tongue are relatively low. As has been seen throughout this report, although the Spanish language group is more successful

[31] For the United States as a whole, 5.7 percent of the 4–9 year olds living in households of Spanish usual language did not speak Spanish "often." The figure for Italian is 8.8 percent, for French, 28.5 percent.

[32] In households where the usual language was English and the second language a non-English language, 49.5 percent of the 4–9 year olds did not speak Spanish, 60.5 percent did not speak Italian, and 83.5 percent did not speak French.

[33] Data are not presented for groups with less than 10,000 weighted children. Only the Chinese manifest high bilingualism rates, but the weighted sample size is 1,949 persons.

Table 7. Proportion of bilinguals of English mother tongue in English-dominant bilingual households, selected language groups, unmarried persons aged 14–17, native born: United States, 1976

Language Group	Total English Mother Tongue	Percent Speaking the Second Household Language	Percent Bilingual
French	70,078	8,059	11.5
Italian	48,354	8,220	17.0
German	40,496	5,382	13.3
Polish	16,174	-0-	0.0
*Residual	63,712	9,177	14.4
Spanish: Total	308,807	112,620	36.5
Metropolitan New York	21,440	7,498	35.0
Florida	5,195	1,287	24.8
Midwest	20,201	5,920	29.3
Texas	51,913	33,867	65.2
New Mexico	20,292	8,564	42.2
Arizona	12,918	7,300	56.5
California	81,206	18,157	22.4
Rocky Mountains	20,128	3,846	19.1
All Other Regions	75,514	26,181	34.7

*Residual = all other language groups except those specifically examined in this report (see table 2).

than the remaining language groups in transmitting the language, only three in eight children speak Spanish frequently by the age of 14–17. When the Spanish language group is divided by region, the usual patterns are discovered also. The Rocky Mountain, Florida, and California groups have bilingualism rates of less than 25 percent. The New York, Midwest, and New Mexico groups have rates of less than 50 percent. Only the Arizona and Texas groups have rates of more than 50 percent; Texas has the most retentive pattern. All non-Spanish language groups have bilingual rates (as defined in this paragraph) of under 15 percent. Although the sample sizes are very small, the pattern is familiar. The data are consistent from group to group and consistent with previous findings. The data suggest that the English-dominant bilingualism is not effectively transmitted to the next generation.

To indicate the importance of these findings, we shall reconstruct the monolingualism rate for the Spanish language group of Texas. We have previously established that the anglicization rate for native born cohorts under age thirty-five is roughly fifty percent. About forty percent adopt English-dominant bilingualism and ten percent become effective monolinguals. According to Table 7, if roughly thirty-five percent of the English-dominant bilinguals will raise monolingual children, then approximately an additional fourteen percent of the Spanish mother tongue population will have monolingual children (35% × 40% = 14%). The effective monolingualism rate then becomes fourteen percent plus the previous rate of ten percent, or about twenty-four percent. However, this is also likely to be a conservative estimate, because the current bilingualism rate (65.2 percent from Table 7) is likely to overestimate future bilingualism rates. This is true because anglicization is following a secular increase in Texas. Thus, the English-dominant bilinguals of today will probably have fewer bilingual children in the future.

In addition, the current 14–17 year olds of English mother tongue analyzed in Table 7 are unlikely to have completed their movement to English monolingualism.

We presume that the same type of age curves apply to this form of language shift as apply to the language shift of persons of non-English mother tongues. Consequently, the full impact of monolingualism will not be attained until this group reaches the ages of thirty or thirty-five. Indeed, we observed that the proportions of English monolinguals found in bilingual households declined rapidly after the 14–17 year old age group. The decline describes proportionately fewer monolinguals in the older age groups. The Survey of Income and Education cannot linguistically detect them once they have established English monolingual households.

The importance of these data lies in the assessment they permit us to make of the meaning of English-dominant bilingualism.[34] Even the most successful language group is relatively unsuccessful in transmitting a second language to children of English mother tongue. It appears that the phenomenon has greater meaning for the parental generation than it does for their children. If indeed parents are making an effort to teach the non-English language to the children, it seems apparent that the teaching is relatively ineffective, particularly outside the Spanish language group. Thus, in general, English-dominant bilingualism should be seen not as a stable phenomenon which permits the transmission of the language to the next generation. Instead it is a *modus vivendi* or a way by which persons of non-English mother tongue come to terms with the American English-speaking environment without completely denying their linguistic heritage. Meanwhile, the second language is frequently not transmitted to the children, or if taught it is already abandoned prior to or during their teenage years.

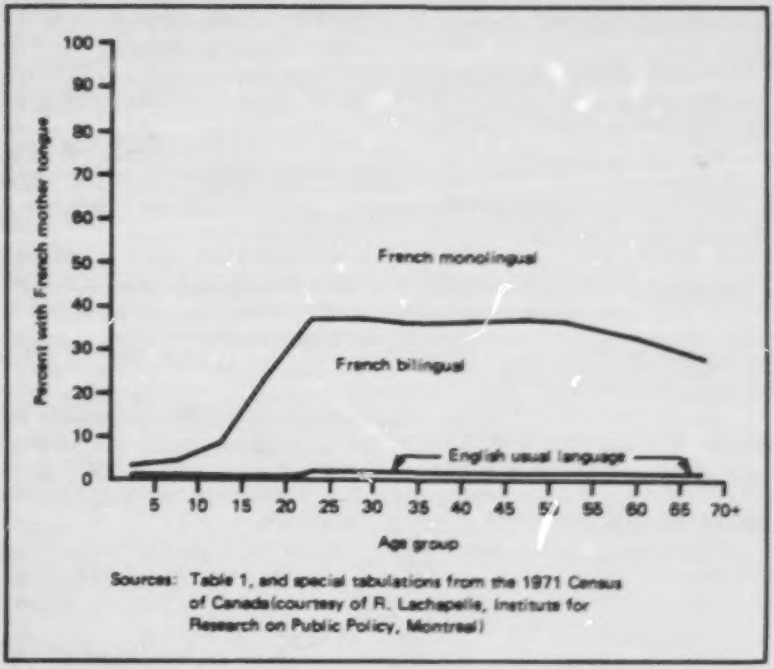
Synthesis

The maintenance of a non-English language in Canada and the United States may be conceptualized as having two principal forms. The first may be defined as the "Quebec" or "retentive" model. Theoretically, in this model many members of a non-English language group learn English well enough to participate in certain activities, particularly employment. However, they still retain their mother tongue as their usual language. Figure 16 demonstrates that this condition persists in Quebec. Although approximately 38 percent of work force age cohorts are bilingual,[35] only a small proportion of the French language group has made English its usual (home) language. Consequently, the children of the retentive French bilinguals should have French as their first language and they may or may not learn English in the home. In fact, in Figure 16, the rapid acceleration of bilingualism in the teenage and young adult years suggests that children do not learn English in the home.

Because bilingualism in Quebec is so preponderantly of a retentive type (rather than of an anglicized type), the French language group may be expected to persist indefinitely. A retentive type group may grow even larger as a result of continued immigration, natural increase, or the assimilation of members of the other language

[34]Providing, of course, that the sample is representative of the larger population.

[35]That is, they responded in the affirmative to the question, "Can you speak English well enough to carry on a conversation?"



Sources: Table 1, and special tabulations from the 1971 Census of Canada (courtesy of R. Lachapelle, Institute for Research on Public Policy, Montreal)

Figure 16. Percent distribution of language shift, by persons of French mother tongue, by age group: Quebec, 1971

groups. This has been true of the French language group in Quebec: the anglicized members of the group have been replaced by the francization of some people from third language groups (Table 1).

A second form under which a minority language may be continued into the future may be described as a "subordinate" model. This model assumes that one language will survive as the principal language of use. When this model is applied to the United States, English would be made the usual language of many or most persons in a given language group. The non-English language would be restricted to certain areas of activity and used less frequently. Acquiring English as their first language, children acquire also the minority language as a second (frequently spoken) language. To ensure the stability of this situation over time, three conditions must be satisfied: (1) Persons making language transfers to English must retain their mother tongue as a "frequently" spoken second language. Otherwise, these persons and their children will be English monolinguals. (2) The children of English-dominant bilinguals must acquire the non-English language as a frequently spoken second language. (3) These children must retain their bilingualism throughout their lifetimes, and must raise children who themselves are English-dominant bilinguals. If these conditions are not met, the survival of the non-English language depends on continued immigration. By maintaining or even expanding the total number of persons in the language group, this immigration

effectively masks the erosion of the language by the processes identified in this report.

The data from the 1976 Survey of Income and Education make it very clear that there are no linguistic "little Quebecs" in the United States. Since most expressed fears of balkanization refer to the development of the Spanish language group, we shall restrict our discussion to Texas, the most retentive Spanish language group. It should not be forgotten that the other Spanish language groups are more anglicized; the non-Spanish minority language groups are even more so (except for the Navajo). In Texas the anglicization rate of new Spanish language immigrants is approximately ten times higher than that of native born Quebec French population; the anglicization of the native born is nearly twenty-five times higher.[36] The monolingualism rate of the 25–34 year old Spanish mother tongue group (native born) in Texas is four times higher than the anglicization rate of Quebec's corresponding French mother tongue cohort.

Not only do American language groups fail to approach the linguistic stability manifested by the French language group in Quebec; they also fail to meet the conditions necessary to ensure the survival of non-English languages as second or "subordinate" languages. This report's data analysis demonstrates that none of the included non-Spanish language groups will be maintained in the United States.[37] These minority language groups are characterized by extensive anglicization, particularly in the native born generation; they are characterized by relatively high levels of the monolingual form of anglicization. Even when anglicization takes the bilingual form of adaptation, it is a transitory phenomenon which apparently is not successfully transmitted to the next generation.

The data also indicate that the Spanish language groups are not immune to these processes. Particularly with the native born generations, all Spanish language groups have undergone extensive anglicization. This is most clearly true of the Spanish language groups in California, the Rocky Mountain states, and the Midwest. In these areas, rates of anglicization approach those of the non-Spanish minority language groups. The rates of abandonment in these regions are above ten percent. The age cohort analysis suggests that abandonment rates are increasing. This is true of Florida also. Accordingly, the retention of Spanish as a subordinate language is in jeopardy in these regions. The lower abandonment rates for New York, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas suggest that a sizeable English-dominant bilingual population may be maintained into the future, despite continual losses into the English monolingual population. This is true for the Navajo, too.

If the only losses to the Spanish language groups were those which arose from the abandonment by persons of Spanish mother tongue, the persistence of the language as a second language would be much less in doubt in several regions. However, section vii revealed that English-dominant bilingualism is not a stable phenomenon. Large proportions of children are raised in such households having monolingual English language use patterns. This rate exceeds thirty percent in Texas and is frequently much higher elsewhere. Thus, the maintenance of Spanish

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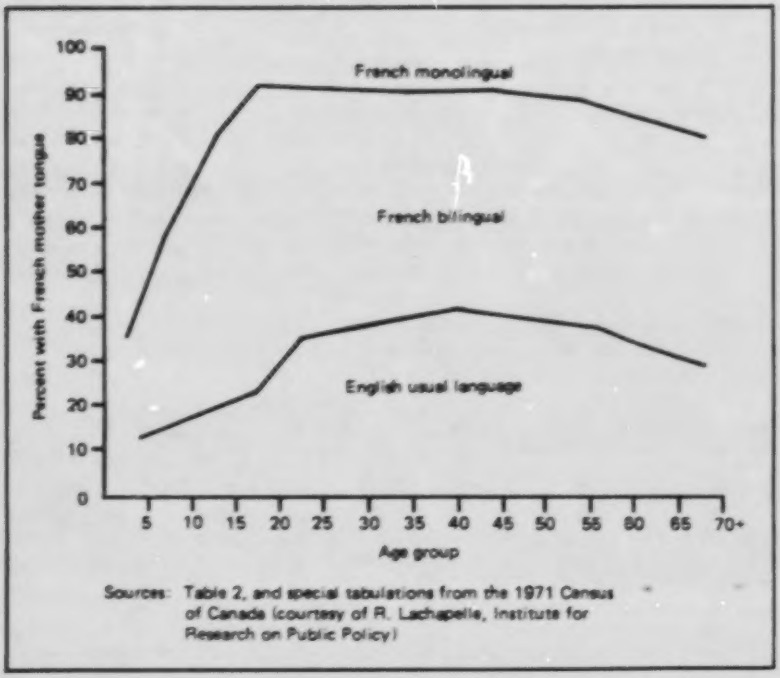
[36] The anglicization rate for the Navajo is ten times higher.

[37] With the exception, of course, of the Navajo language group.

as a second language is severely threatened in the short run in most regions. In fact, the only region which presents uniquely retentive characteristics is that of Texas. The term "uniquely retentive" should be understood within the American context. Only when Texas is compared to other American regions and language groups, can it be considered "uniquely retentive."

If the Spanish language group in Texas and the Navajo cannot be adequately compared to the French language group in Quebec, a further comparison to the French language group in Ontario is instructive. Figure 17 shows that well over eighty percent of the French language group claimed that they were bilingual in English for every adult age group. Nonetheless, the majority of persons have opted for a French-dominant bilingual pattern. This contrasts markedly with the age cohort structure of bilingualism in Texas. Figure 14 reveals a high proportion of persons with low English language competencies in the older age groups and a rapid decline in the percentages of such persons in the younger age groups. Ontario's pattern of monolingualism has been relatively stable in contrast to the rapid decline in low English language competence in Texas.[38]

[38]While the two phenomena are not identical, they are sufficiently similar to permit some comparison of the evolution of language competencies. Both measure the proportions of persons who seem to oblige others to retain their non-English language skills.



Sources: Table 2, and special tabulations from the 1971 Census of Canada (courtesy of R. Lachapelle, Institute for Research on Public Policy)

Figure 17. Percent distribution of language shift, by persons of French mother tongue, by age group: Ontario, 1971

A similar observation applies to anglicization rates. Although only seven percent of the Texas group aged sixty-five and over are anglicized, fifty percent of the younger age groups are anglicized. A similar percentage applies to the Navajo for anglicized persons over 50 years of age; 34.7 percent applies to those aged 30–39. By way of contrast, the anglicization rate of the oldest Ontario cohort is twenty-six percent; the 35–44 year old age group is thirty-eight percent. Thus, while anglicization has increased by a factor of seven in Texas, it has increased by a factor of only 1.5 in Ontario.[39] Regardless of the method used to express this comparison, the anglicization of the two most retentive language groups in the United States has proceeded much more rapidly than the anglicization of Ontario's French language group.

The acceleration in both the bilingualization and the anglicization of the Navajo and the Spanish language groups in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona suggest that long term, historic processes are at work. At least since the Second World War, long before the advent of Federal policy interventions in the area of education, the anglicization of these language groups has been following a secular increase. Native born anglicization has been increasing at such a rate that the abandonment of the Spanish language seems a more likely outcome than does the linguistic balkanization of the United States.

Policy Implications

Because the limited sample sizes have inhibited our ability to make categorical generalizations, movement to a discussion of the implications may seem adventurous. Since the 1980 Census will not provide useful information on language shift of this type, the SIE will remain the sole source of such information. Unless the SIE sample bears no relationship to reality, the picture drawn from the SIE is rather bleak for those interested in language maintenance and rather encouraging for those interested in the country's linguistic uniformity. The data seem plausible and conform to previous findings. Therefore, either the policy implications must be drawn, or the defects of the SIE should be remedied with a series of sufficiently large regional samples.

In this report the use of the Spanish language as a principal language has been demonstrated as an immigrant phenomenon in most regions of the country. The anglicization of the native born age groups reaching maturity has surpassed fifty percent in every region of the country. It has been accelerating rapidly in regions where it was previously low. This evaluation applies to the Navajo language in the Southwest, too. Since current Federal programs have as their goal the "integration" of minority language groups, successful programs would further accelerate the process of anglicization.

If second languages have value as a national resource or as part of our collective national heritage, what seems called for is a program designed to arrest or retard further anglicization of minority language groups.[40] Effective program

[39] And by a factor of infinity for the Navajo, the rate for those over 60 years of age being zero.

[40] As a matter of fact, the erosion of the Navajo and Spanish languages is already so advanced that the implementation of a revival program would seem more commensurate with reality than the development of a program to ensure minimal maintenance conditions.

placement appears to limit the range of activity to the Spanish language group, and to future large groups of immigrants.

Comparison with the Canadian situation is instructive for types of effective policy alternatives. In the part in Ontario, where they are most numerous, the French language group enjoys access to French language schools. There has been a feeble effort to provide a few other government services in French.[41] These features may account in part for the slower acceleration of anglicization in Ontario than in Texas. They may contribute to the relatively larger percentage of persons opting for bilingualism and retaining the mother tongue as a usual language.[42]

Thus, a program to retard anglicization (or promote maintenance) might be based on the development of parallel school systems. Spanish or another non-English language would be the ordinary language of instruction and English would be taught as a subject among others. Whether or not such a school system would be welcomed by specific language minorities should be ascertained beforehand. It should be made clear that the English language children would be welcomed in such public schools. As in Ontario the Spanish language school system development would not arrest anglicization entirely. It would provide a minimal social context in which the non-English language is viewed as a valuable language. Non-English language skills could be developed and maintained. The Navajo's greater control over their schools in the Southwest may help explain their lower anglicization rates.

The situations of aggravated anglicization need to be placed in their proper perspective using Quebec. In Quebec there are not only French language schools but a French language majority. Consequently, the government of Quebec has attempted to foster the development of the French language and to counter the trend toward the evident anglicization (Table 1). The most recent attempt, Law 101, has attempted to modify school attendance choices and the language practices of private corporations.[43] Law 101 has many of the same features and goals of the language legislation passed by the previous pro-federalist Liberal government. In addition to provincial government support, local government services are dispensed in French wherever the French language group is dominant. Nonetheless, there is still some anglicization in Quebec. Montreal is the locus of English language business activity, and the Federal government exercises an important influence in Hull.

It is totally unrealistic to imagine that a cluster of legal, judicial, and economic institutions could be developed to serve the interests of the Spanish language group in Texas or the Navajo of Arizona and New Mexico. Yet it appears that this type of institutionally complete framework permits the retention of the French language in Quebec. Manifestations of the presence of the Spanish ethnic group include occasional Spanish signs, Spanish "no smoking" signs in the subway, and a mayor with a Spanish surname. These do not constitute the institutionally

[41]It should be noted that the French minority wages a constant battle to obtain such concessions.

[42]French also enjoys a certain official status at the Federal level, which is not the case for the Spanish or the Navajo language in the U.S. This no doubt affects provincial and state legislatures' appreciation of the minority languages' status.

[43]Immigrants are channeled to the French school system. A complete English language school system is maintained at public expense for English-speaking Quebecers.

complete framework of institutions which would temper the flow of persons of Spanish mother tongue to the English language group. Although street signs and mayors with French surnames abound, this kind of well-rounded institutional framework is lacking in Ontario.

This kind of institutional framework cannot be actualized in the United States. In Texas, for example, large American firms will continue to dominate the economy. They incite not only mastery of the English language but movement into the English language group. In addition, the Spanish language population does not have the absolute or relative demographic weight of the Quebec's French language group. Consequently, it cannot elect a legislature which would be principally responsive to its interests. Even if it could, state governments in the United States do not possess the extensive powers of provincial governments in Canada.[44]

Accordingly, the optimal policy alternative which could be implemented is similar to that prevailing in Ontario. Local governments would be encouraged to offer Spanish language services wherever the size of the Spanish language group warrants it. Services would include a public, Spanish language education system. If such measures were well received by the Spanish language group in a given geographic area, one could expect some slowing of the anglicization process. However, this process would remain relatively extensive. Anglicization would be more extensive here than in Ontario. Ontario's anglicization levels are already low. The French language status and Ontario's legal recognition extends far beyond the reasonable expectations for the legal recognition of Spanish (or any other non-English language) in the United States.

Technical Appendix

i. Imputation of missing data

The raw SIE data frequently contained unedited language fields. In the data processing, no edits were imposed if a valid mother tongue and usual language were declared. If the usual personal language was undeclared, an English language was imputed if the person was born in the United States and lived in a household with an English usual language. However, if a valid mother tongue was encountered which was the same language as the usual household language, that language was assigned as the usual personal language. If neither the mother tongue nor the usual personal language was known, a valid second language was assigned as the mother tongue. Obviously, the first edit was performed for children only.

ii. Effective imputation of a mother tongue for children

A mother tongue label was necessary to construct language shift rates. Consequently, for children aged 4–13, the usual household language was imputed

[44]Any attempt to institute protected regions or protected language groups would undoubtedly be invalidated by the Supreme Court. Even bilingual education programs are justified by the need to integrate citizens, rather than to render services in their mother tongues.

as a mother tongue. The effect of this treatment was to depress the language shift rate for children, because an important percentage of children living in English language households was of non-English mother tongue, judging by the data for 14–17 year olds. In fact, the language shift estimates for these 4–13 year olds were very conservative and should be clearly understood as minimal. The usual household language was imputed as a mother tongue to children aged 0–3 for purposes of the construction of Table 3. We added all children whose dominant personal language was non-English but who lived in English (dominant) language households to the estimates of the numbers of 4–13 year olds presumed to have a non-English language.

iii. Regional samples

The regional samples were organized to give recognition to the domination of the Puerto Rican group in the New York area, the Cuban group in Miami, and the Chinese group elsewhere. Similarly, the French language group of New England differed from that of Louisiana. In the case of the Spanish language groups of the Southwest, the various states were separated when the data analysis revealed different patterns of anglicization. The construction of regions followed areas of concentration as revealed in the SIE sample. In some cases only parts of states were used. For example, there were no persons of French language in the Shreveport, Louisiana SMSA. In other cases the regions transgressed state lines. Persons of French language in Beauport, Texas had origins and social interactions which belonged to the Louisiana group. The organization of the data in this fashion rendered meaningless the estimates of variance for states. The reader should understand that no scientific virtue was intended in the regional analyses. What was intended is meaningful social units. Thus, the SMSAs which surround New York City were joined to form a metropolitan area sample which included two SMSAs from Connecticut, two from New York, and three from New Jersey. This regional sample was compared to a sample consisting of all persons of Spanish language resident outside of this regional unit in the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. This comparison revealed somewhat different linguistic assimilation patterns. Those living outside the metropolitan area sample abandoned the frequent usage of Spanish three times more frequently than those living inside the metropolitan area. However, the overall rates of anglicization were fairly similar at 75 to 80 percent.

The geographic regions constructed for the analysis of the Spanish and French language groups follows:

French Language Group:	
Northern New England	Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire
Southern New England	Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut (except New Haven and Bridgeport)
Louisiana	Rural, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and Beaumont (Texas)

Spanish Language Group:	
New York Metropolitan	New York, Nassau-Suffolk, Newark, Paterson, Jersey City, New Haven, and Bridgeport
Midwest (North Central States)	Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, and Wisconsin
Texas	Rural, El Paso, Corpus Christi, and San Antonio
New Mexico	New Mexico
Arizona	Arizona
Rocky Mountain States	Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada
California	Rural, Los Angeles, Anaheim, San Diego, San Bernadino, Oxnard-Ventura, and Santa Barbara
Florida	Florida

iv. Language group assignment

Before anglicization rates could be calculated, individuals were assigned to a language group. Individuals were screened into a language group on the basis of mother tongue. If the mother tongue was English, a search was made for a non-English usual language. If the usual language was also English, the second language was imposed as a parameter. Then the usual household language and then the second household language were considered. It is by using these latter two parameters that English monolinguals who live in bilingual households could be identified.

v. Calculation of anglicization rates

After the individuals were assigned to a language group, a lingual index was constructed based on both mother tongue and current language use characteristics, including the usual language spoken and the presence of a second language. Only lingual indices with non-English mother tongue basis were used in constructing the estimate of the non-English language group's size. Excluded were persons of English mother tongue, those for whom a valid mother tongue had not been declared, and those for whom a third language was involved. The exclusion of these latter two groups marginally diminished the sample to less than three percent of the specified Spanish language sample of persons aged 14 and over.

vi. Calculation of the totally anglicized by ethno-linguistic group (Table 2)

The national sample of ethno-linguistic groups was constructed by adding ethnic parameters to the language parameters. First, persons were assigned to

language groups as indicated. In the event that none of the language parameters was non-English, an ethnic assignment was made. Thus, if they indicated a Spanish ethnic ancestry, persons of totally English language characteristics were assigned to the Spanish ethno-linguistic group.

vii. Sources and reliability of the estimates

For a complete description of the survey and the presentation of the standard errors, see E. McArthur's excellent discussion in *The Relative Progress of Children in School: 1976*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1979, pp. 27–36.

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WRITTEN RESPONSES TO DR. VELTMAN'S STUDY

CRITIQUE by MR. STUART BEATY

Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Canada

Dr. Veltman's paper advances observations of two main kinds. The first kind relates to a structural analysis of the data on language use by certain language minorities in North America. The second deals with future implications with particular reference to the possibilities of regional autonomy.

I must leave to others any critique of the paper's demographic methodology. I do not detect any significant lapses in the comparative analysis of the U.S. and Canadian cases.

From my point of view, the larger issues are more intriguing: under what circumstances can minority language assimilation be retarded or prevented; what is the institutional role in that process; and what are some of the possible inferences for development of regional autonomies with a linguistic base?

From that perspective, I regret that so much of the paper's attention is focused on the question of whether the U.S. presently harbors a potential Quebec. This recalls the Jesuit reaction to Hamlet's "to be or not to be" question: "la question est mal posée." The present condition of the French "minority" in Quebec is presumably attributable to historical, political, and institutional forces which have been largely lacking, if not completely absent, from the U.S. setting.

The longstanding legitimization of French in Quebec has always amounted to a degree of recognition of regional autonomy, to the point where cause and effect are hardly distinguishable. At this stage the issue would seem to be what degree of regional autonomy is necessary for satisfactory language maintenance. In that sense, it might have been more revealing, from the Canadian standpoint, if the analysis had focused on situations where French has survived as a minority language not only despite the lack of legitimization, but too often in the face of official repression. The obvious cases are in Ontario and New Brunswick. The former is mentioned only late in the piece and the latter not at all.

It may seem churlish to blame Dr. Veltman for the paper that he did not choose to write. However, if one really wishes to address the question whether given demographic pressures and official encouragement, the Spanish language might "pose a threat to the linguistic integrity of the United States," it seems to me insufficient to pronounce a verdict purely on the basis of previous demographic patterns. As witness Canadian instances outside Quebec, the very fact that minority language assimilation can be controlled (i.e., retarded by both institutional and personal efforts) leaves legitimate room for speculation as to where this leads and what kind of policy decisions we want to make. In that context, the field of

interest presumably becomes the way in which variations in language demography reflect:

- language status recognition;
- socio-economics of language distribution;
- types and degrees of institutional support; and
- collective will of the language community involved.

In Canada, there is a rapidly developing awareness of the place of both regional and administrative autonomy in language maintenance. In Belgium this recognition has reached almost unimaginable extremes of institutional language segregation. For those who are interested in determining the limits and conditions, within a modern state, of harmonious linguistic cohabitation, the relative wisdom of calculated assimilation of linguistic minorities is a priority issue. Dr. Veltman's paper asks some good questions and reflects the sort of evidence which demographic analysis can bring to bear. But valuable as it is, it does not amount to a full answer to the questions raised.

CRITIQUE by DR. RENÉ CÁRDENAS

BCTV
Oakland, California

While it would be difficult to fault the logic and some of the findings of this study, and I might add here that the term "fault" is used diagnostically, my main concern with the paper is in the area of inferences, implications and questionable conclusions that exude throughout.

"Could Quebec-style language movements develop in the United States," particularly among Spanish language groups who are generally perceived as resisting adoption of the English language? We must concur with Dr. Veltman's position that while the concerns of the English-speaking citizen in Canada and the United States are analogous, the situations are not comparable. As Dr. Veltman has indicated, the French-speaking citizen of Quebec survives in a cultural womb that is patently French; while the Hispanic citizen has little institutional support or mechanisms that would foster their manumission from existing social processes.

Obviously, the 1976 Survey of Income and Education was not designed to measure the linguistic characteristics of the populations under study. While the findings provided indications that led to certain suspicions and inferences, I believe the level of confidence and reliability of findings and conclusions are questionable. These findings have been extrapolated from a design engineered to measure factors other than the specific language characteristics and proclivities of minorities.

We understand that the sample was representative of the global communities assessed. However, in urban settings such as Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York, language use and transfer characteristics are distinct from those of agricultural, rural, or Spanish-speaking entrepôts in smaller municipalities. The

Hispanic has a greater tendency to retain and utilize both Spanish and English in these smaller municipalities.

For example, our studies indicate that extensive anglicization is occurring in some areas of California. But the homophilous lifestyle of the Hispanic in extended and nuclear social settings perpetuates the continued use and reliance upon the Spanish language, even though English language facility is enjoyed.

This study does not seem to factor for: the psychological attributes—linguistic comfort zones—of the Hispanic; linguistic recidivism in moments of stress and of camaraderie; and the psychic reliance Hispanics feel in resorting to a mother tongue in processes of social interaction. Although many 14 to 17 year olds living in bilingual households often do not speak Spanish, reliance on the Spanish language does often occur. As those individuals grow older, a process we call cultural magnetism will rekindle interest in both culture and language at one point or another.

Did this study factor or consider the human flow of the undocumented entering the United States from Central and South America—estimated between 7 and 11 million? Or did it consider the continuous traffic of Cuban immigrants currently coming to the United States?

We know that the immigrant from Mexico is often underskilled, monolingual, undereducated, and that he or she will enter into conjugal relationships within the year of entry. Their offspring will be raised largely in the old traditions. The acculturative process will affect their offspring, but the grounded linguistic experience will be Spanish.

In Section I, page 8, there is a suggestion that language shift generally will not occur upon entry into the work force, institutions of higher learning, and by the age of 35.

Cultural recidivism is a phenomenon among Hispanics that must be factored. It is like the call of the wild. At one point or another, all Hispanics seek redemption in the mystique of their culture.

In summary, anglicization might seem to be on the increase. And hopefully it is on the increase, but that increase does not simultaneously signify abandonment of the mother tongue. Not speaking the mother tongue would characterize apostasy. A series of longitudinal studies will bear out that the need, popularity, and utility of the Spanish language is on the increase in the United States.

CRITIQUE by DR. CHARLES CASTONGUAY

Department of Mathematics
University of Ottawa

Language shift toward English is one of the most basic cultural phenomena characterizing American and Canadian societies. However, data allowing relatively direct observation of current language behavior in both societies have only just recently been made available through the 1971 Census of Canada and the 1976 Survey of Income and Education in the United States. Until further data are gathered, the comparison of language behavior among various age groups based on the presently available data remains the only way of gaining an intergenerational perspective on language shift in both countries. During the past five years, the

estimation of intergenerational language shift based on age-group analysis has become a generally accepted method in Canadian language use research. I will essentially limit my comment to Veltman's application of this method to the SIE data.

In discussing Canadian data on language use by age groups, Veltman points out that the language shift curves are basically the same shape for all language minorities. As a particularly striking illustration of this fact, I have represented in Figure 1 the language shift rates, by age groups: of the English mother tongue minority to the user of French as principal home language in the Quebec City Census Metropolitan Area; and of the whole of the French mother tongue minorities to English in the remainder of Canada outside of the Province of Quebec. Of course, to obtain francization rates of this order one must narrow down the scope of observation to an English mother tongue minority as small as that of the Quebec City area. The comparison remains nonetheless entirely valid, since the 1971 Canadian data are based on a sample of fully one third of the total population.

Veltman explains the intergenerational rise of language shift curves among widely different minorities by such universal social transformation processes as urbanization, mass communications, and increased schooling. On the whole, these processes tend to lower the ethnic or social barriers. Perhaps even more in

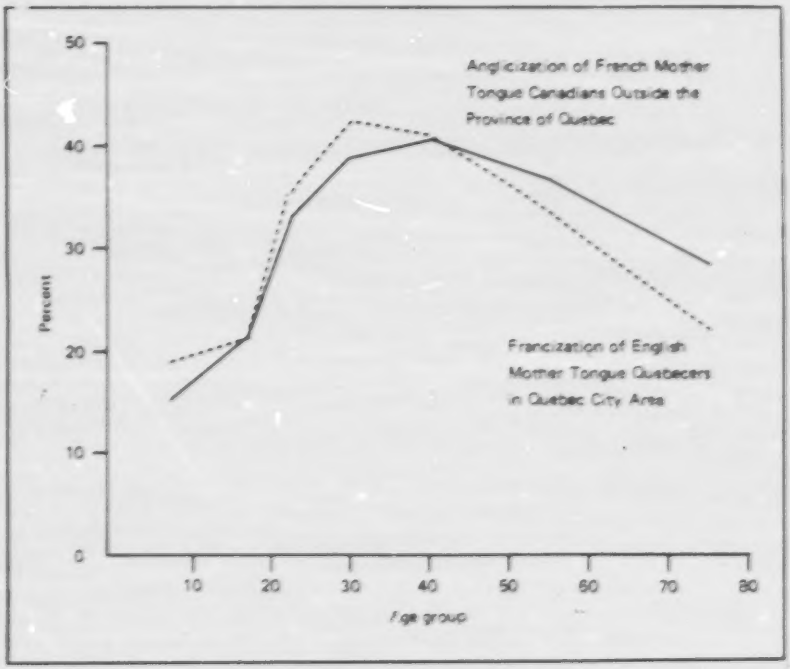

Figure 1. Rates of language shift, by age groups: Canada, 1971

Canada than in the United States, these barriers have served in the past to maintain relatively low levels of anglicization (or francization) among the various minorities. These barriers have helped maintain low rates of ethnic or linguistic intermarriage. Observation of the rates of intermarriage by age groups further confirms the basic soundness of the conclusions about the general intergenerational increase in language shift to English (or French).

The strong interrelation between linguistic exogamy, or out-marriage, and language shift to English among the French-Canadian minorities has been extensively documented by the Federation des Francophones Hors Quebec (1978) and Castonguay (1979). In Figure 2, this interrelation is illustrated by the language shift and exogamy curves for selected French-Canadian minorities. The parallel intergenerational increase of both phenomena among the adults of 35 years of age and older is clear for each minority. Furthermore, the anglicization curves drop off among the younger age group, due to the fact that the latter have not yet entirely passed through that stage in life during which language shift is most likely. Meanwhile, the exogamy curves continue to rise quite steadily, right through to the youngest age group. On the reasonable assumption that the exogamy rates shown by those 15 to 24 year olds already married will be confirmed by those of the same generation who were not married in 1971, the continued increase in exogamy among the younger age groups can be used to predict confidently a further upthrust of the rate of anglicization of future 35 to 44 year olds.

The 1976 Census of Canada has already yielded some confirmation of this expected increase, even though data on mother tongue were the only language data collected in that census. Such confirmation can be gotten quite simply, by assuming that the mother tongue given for children aged 0 to 4 reflects the principal language used in the home by their mothers. Comparison of anglicization rates of the French mother tongue mothers based on such indirect observations does show an increase in anglicization among most French minorities between 1971 and 1976 (Lachapelle and Henripin, 1980).

Comparison of the 1971 and 1976 Census data also bears out the predictable intergenerational increase in exogamy rates. As expected, Figure 3 further shows that the steeper the slopes of the 1971 exogamy curves, the higher the 1976 rates when compared to the 1971 rates.

Aside from external social processes which tend to facilitate exogamy and language shift, a process internal to these phenomena is also at work. As members of a minority marry out of their language group, their offspring, usually of English mother tongue, show a higher propensity than their peers of non-minority extraction to marry back into the minority. Once the barriers to marrying or shifting out of a language minority are weakened, the ease of further exogamy with already assimilated members in turn quickens the rate of assimilation. This gives rise to a snowball effect which continually gains momentum (Castonguay, 1980).

All of the above observations add further support for Veltman's type of age-group analysis. On the basis of the analysis, he concludes that the rate of anglicization of American language minorities is accelerating from one generation to another. Therefore, I harbor no fundamental doubt over the basic soundness of this type of analysis, or the overall use which Veltman makes of my interpretive

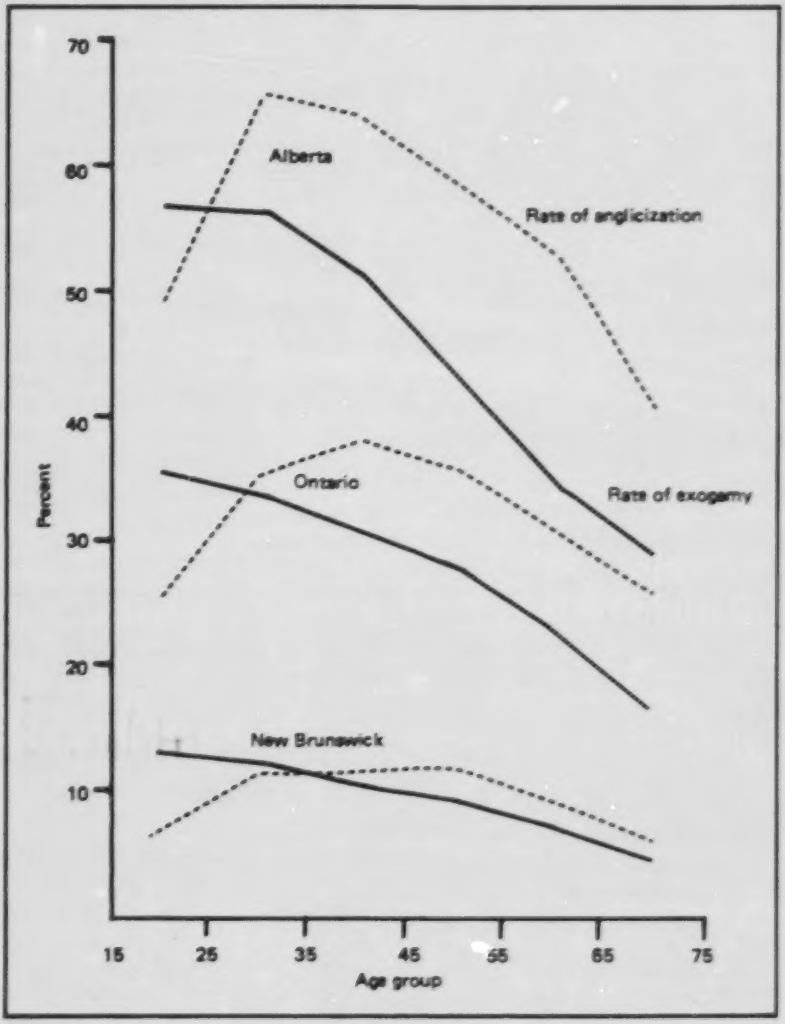

Figure 2. Rates of exogamy and anglicization, by age groups: Some French-Canadian minorities, 1971

model. However, I do have some reservations concerning certain of his more detailed estimates and comparisons.

My discomfort hinges on the fact that in using the SIE data to estimate language shift, one must compare mother tongue data with principal language data. The mother tongue data concern language use in the respondent's childhood home;

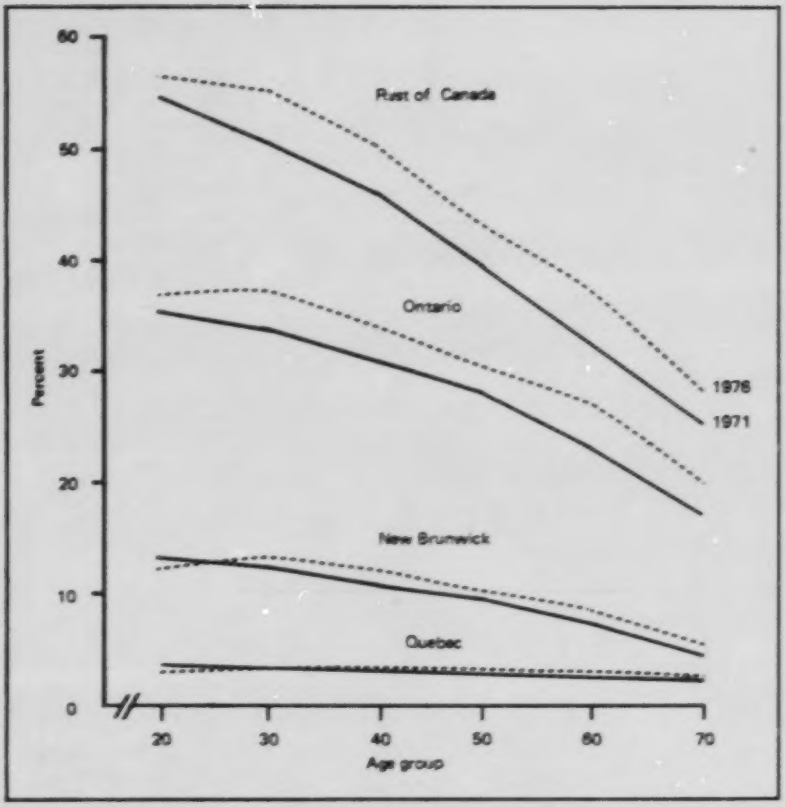

Figure 3. Rates of exogamy of French mother tongue population, by age groups: Certain provinces, 1971 and 1976

principal language data reflect the respondent's current overall language behavior in all forms of social intercourse, within as well as without the respondent's home. This confusion of context does not arise with the Canadian data, which explicitly relate the current language of use to the respondent's home environment. This ensures the contextual compatibility of comparisons of past and present languages of use in the respondent's childhood home (mother tongue data) and current home (home language data).

Members of a non-dominant language minority may use the minority language as principal language in their homes, while at the same time using almost exclusively the dominant majority language at work and in most other social activities. So it is quite possible that some respondents gave English in answer to the SIE principal language question, although they continued to use mainly a minority language in their homes. As a result, part of the increase in anglicization rates between the older generations and the younger adults shown by Veltman's

curves may be due to differing principal areas of linguistic activity. The younger adults tend more often to respond in terms of their principal language of use outside the home. Due to the reduction of their area of linguistic activity as they leave the active labor force, the older adults more often respond in terms of their principal language of use inside their homes. The context-free nature of the SIE usual language question thus raises some doubt as to the permanency of the language shifts registered beyond the ages of 30 or 35. Veltman bases his intergenerational comparisons of language shift rates upon this permanency. This unfortunate situation serves to show that the usefulness of demographic data on language use depends considerably on its specified context.

Though Veltman does not make this point explicitly (he comes quite close at the beginning of Chapter II), I do not think it invalidates his general interpretation of the SIE data. But in matters of detail, for example, in comparing the anglicization rates of Spanish mother tongue Texans and of French mother tongue Ontarians, it would be preferable to give somewhat less emphasis to the intergenerational interpretation of the marked upswing in the rates of anglicization of the former. I suspect the increase would be slightly attenuated had the context of principal linguistic activity been the same for all adult age groups. Comparing Figures 14 and 17 with this in mind, it seems to me quite possible that the anglicization rates of the native born Spanish mother tongue Texans in their home environment could lie below, rather than above, those of the French mother tongue Ontarians.

In a similar vein, in comparing competency in English among different age groups, it would be preferable to emphasize more strongly that language competencies may decline somewhat among older adults due to their relative withdrawal from situations of prolonged contact with the majority language. The comparison between the SIE data and Canadian data on competence in English also strikes me as highly delicate, due to the difference in nature of the questions asked.

In closing I would like to turn to a few points not related to the intergenerational interpretation of the SIE data. First, I found extremely sound and significant Veltman's investigation of intergenerational transmission (or lack of transmission) of minority languages in families where English dominates and the minority language is spoken often. Canadian data do not permit similar observations, as they do not represent secondary principal languages.

Secondly, if the 1980 Census contains at least a mother tongue question similar to that of the SIE, it may be interesting to look at the age group variation of the rates of linguistic intermarriage. These rates will assist in developing a deeper appreciation of language shift trends in the United States, as has been done in Canada.

Finally, in dismissing the possible balkanization of the United States, Veltman should have added that the Quebec independence movement is based above all on a sense of national identity. The French Quebecers not only form a demographic majority within their province, and enjoy a vast degree of institutional completeness, but also share a sense of nationhood which has persisted over the centuries. This explains Quebec's evolution toward an even greater degree of self-government. In Canada, at least, a similar sense of nationhood is found only among the Native Indians, the Inuit, and the Acadians. The latter all lack the geographic definiteness and viability of Quebec.

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CRITIQUE by DR. LEOBARDO ESTRADA

Bureau of the Census

I've known Cal Veltman for some time and have continuously reviewed his studies on language usage and language maintenance, as it was called in the old days. Over the past years, he has written various papers in which he looks at the factors which are related to the use of non-English languages. All of these works culminate, to some extent, in this particular study. Despite the considerable limitations of the variables that were available to him and the limitations of the data base, he has mined the particular information from the Survey of Income and Education in a way which I don't believe anyone else could have. Others lack the interest and the motivation which Cal has demonstrated regarding these particular types of studies. I find the results to be rather interesting. I think we have to consider these findings only as preliminary and in need of further confirmation, especially by some very well designed, focused survey research. I'd like to present what I consider to be the major limitations and the implications of the paper.

As I previously mentioned, there are limitations to the use of the SIE data. Despite the fact that it is the best information ever gathered on the national level with the largest sampling size ever of minorities, one has to keep in mind that the SIE was not oriented toward the study of language. It concentrated on the study of labor force and income. Thus, many factors related to language use are omitted from this survey. One example is immigration history. Very little information is available that allows one to understand whether individuals come to the U.S. to stay permanently, or whether they have frequent contact with their country of origin since moving to the U.S. Another issue is education abroad. There is a very brief item on whether any of the education was abroad. Very little information is given as to the kind of training. Anyone who has studied international educational trends knows that a vast difference occurs in the language usage and training of persons educated in private systems versus public systems. One must also consider the context of language usage. Unfortunately the SIE does not take into consideration the context under which primary or secondary languages are used.

Obviously, the ideal would be a different type of data base which would include variables like this. In secondary analysis one has to use whatever is available. In this particular case, Cal has tried to deal with these limitations to the best of his abilities. I think he has done admirably, despite the fact that this survey was not intended to be used for such a study.

The second item has to do with variables. One can obviously criticize the lack of reliability which might occur in any study which relies upon self-reporting. But in this particular case, I am less concerned about the self-reporting of the information than I am about the use of the terms primary and secondary languages. First of all, in order to accept these kinds of concepts, one has to assume that there is a difference. People who have two different languages are assumed to subordinate one language to the other. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to represent one who is equally fluent in both. One is forced to state that one language supercedes another when in fact, two things can take place: both languages can be of equal importance; or secondly, the primary language depends upon the context. At home the primary language could be Spanish and at work it could be English. And yet, the person who responds must choose one. The SIE questions do not ask for the particular context of usage.

The third item has to do with controls on the immigration variable. This study really doesn't allow for this control, given the kinds of variables that are provided. One has to control for the historical waves of immigration. A major part of this study focuses on the foreign born population for various ethnic groups. The groups are compared to one another in terms of how many of them continue to report a non-English language either as a primary or secondary language. One has to keep in mind that immigration history differs greatly between groups. The Irish, whose immigration peaked probably in the 1930s, have to differ greatly from the Cubans, whose immigration peaked in the mid-1960s. The 30 year difference would lead us to expect to find differences between these groups simply based on length of residence. So until those kinds of controls are included, it makes it very difficult to understand how much of the shift or change is due to the willingness of a particular group to maintain or retain a language and how much of it is due to the length of residence.

One could go on with an argument that the context of immigration is also important. If a group was welcomed (the Cuban refugee program) or the group was discriminated against (Italians in the 1940s), then one wouldn't hypothesize that the loss of many of the European languages might be related to the context of a melting pot that existed in the 1940s and 1950s. Some of the more recent groups, for example the Spanish origin groups, might continue to maintain their language because today's context is somewhat more pluralistic than it was decades ago.

I conclude by adding that Dr. Veltman has presented us with some empirically based trends and some explicitly stated testable hypotheses. I think he has challenged all of us to continue looking further into this issue. By all accounts, this is a contribution to the field of knowledge.

This study concludes with trends which indicate a general loss or decrease in non-English language usage. Calvin attempts to compare the decline in language usage in the United States to that in Canada. He compares it to French Canadians in Ottawa and in Quebec. He tries to indicate what may be the causes of the

decline. In many ways, as Dr. Veltman admits, the comparison between U.S. language groups and Canadian language groups has little basis. But he has presented an important link between the Canadian economic structure, the governmental structure (especially education) and other institutions which allow non-English language usage to persist. One would assume that language would eventually decline where the economic structure does not support non-English language usage or where the government fails to sanction such usage. In the United States, at present, there is little or no governmental support for non-English language usage. Bilingual education may be one of the few exceptions to this statement. The prognosis under these circumstances is further decline.

In many ways the rationale that is involved here could be termed a "utility theory." That is, when it's useful non-English is maintained. If it's useful to one's earnings or to achieving well-being, then the language will not decline. Although such a theory seems rational I have a feeling that despite its lack of usefulness, language usage can persist. I think the next step is a separate level of analysis: people's attitudes regarding language and the purpose of language in different contexts. I think this analysis is the only way that we can understand why Mexican-Americans living outside the Southwest maintain Spanish language usage. One could argue that in the Southwest they would need to know Spanish in order to get along with Spanish-speaking proprietors, businesses and even the political structure. As one moves away from those regions, that sort of rationale for the support system for language breaks down. And the only remaining explanation is the existence of motives other than utility which support language usage. Further studies must isolate and examine those issues.

CRITIQUE by MR. PIERRE E. LAPORTE

Office de la langue française, Montréal

Charles A. Ferguson from Stanford introduced the idea of linguistic profile some years ago. He suggested the idea be used for language situations' comparative analyses. He added the relative dominance of a language as a crucial element of such profiles. This dominance was to be measured in terms of several indicators including: the numerical superiority of languages; the extent to which a given language is learned by native speakers of other languages; and the use of languages for clearly societal purposes such as the functioning of official texts of law or decrees, and the managing of public institutions such as courts, churches and schools. Ferguson could have added the extent to which languages serve day-to-day communicative functions in economic institutions whether industrial, commercial or financial. Another dimension might have been the use of languages for wider communications, particularly by governments and private enterprises.

We all know that the Canadian and the American linguistic profiles are very different. Since both countries are quite linguistically heterogeneous, the differences are not primarily in terms of the number of languages present in each case. They have more to do with the dominance of the English language in the United States compared to the status of that language in Canada. In fact, while the American situation is one of solid dominance, the Canadian situation is one of

competition between two well established languages. I don't think that this point needs to be argued forcefully to be accepted. Canada is officially bilingual. The French in Canada, though they are a linguistic minority, constitute a language community whose resources are incomparably superior to the resources of any non-English linguistic minority in the United States. When this point of view is applied to French Quebec, the comparison with American non-English minorities becomes largely meaningless. The difference is not one of *degree* but of *kind*. The French in Quebec occupy a territory where they came three hundred years ago as conquerors, not as immigrants. They possess an institutional structure which is a quasi-sovereign state; and their economic base is of gigantic proportions compared to that of any American linguistic minority. For instance, the cooperative sector in Quebec, which is totally French-controlled, is financially and organizationally one of the most important in the western world. Therefore, French Quebec controls a lot of resources compared to the few resources of American linguistic minorities such as the Chinese, the Italian, the Portuguese, or the Spanish American. We are not bringing up the issue of resources in the content of our discussion arbitrarily. Recent comparative studies of linguistic minorities, particularly in Western Europe, show that resources are the strategic variables predicting the occurrence and intensity of mobilization among these language communities. Consequently, I am a little embarrassed by the question that seems to have brought us here together today: whether or not mobilization could occur among American linguistic minorities to the extent which it has in French Quebec. I am equally somewhat embarrassed by the approach which Professor Veltman has chosen to take in trying to answer the question. However, I will begin by expressing my criticisms of Professor Veltman on another point related to his policy implications from his analysis.

Professor Veltman shows in his report that the pressures for anglicization in the United States are extremely powerful. He further argues that unless Federal government policies and practices counteract these pressures, the fate of the American non-English linguistic minorities, including the Spanish Americans, is linguistic assimilation. This means the eventual loss of the native languages. Professor Veltman argues this forcefully. To prove his thesis he marshalls all the possible evidence from the 1976 Survey of Income and Education. One senses that in Professor Veltman's mind assimilation is inevitable unless governmental action is undertaken fast. Professor Veltman is not specific about the program of governmental action which he would recommend; but one feels that minority language schools would play a central role in his program. He means schools where the minority language would be "the ordinary language of instruction and English would be taught as a subject matter among others." Profesor Veltman believes this program would not stop anglicization but "it would provide a minimal social context in which the non-English language is viewed as a valuable language. Non-English language skills could be developed and maintained."[1]

Here I disagree with Professor Veltman insofar as I believe that government intervention on the school system is insufficient. The Canadian experience would tend to show this; despite efforts to provide the French minorities outside Quebec

[1] "The Assimilation of American Language Minorities: Structure, Pace and Extent," p. 69.

with school facilities in their own language, anglicization is gaining pace. The case of Ontario is particularly clear in this respect. Indeed, much sociolinguistic data would tend to support the idea that school instruction in one's language is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for language maintenance among linguistic minorities. Other resources would have to be provided including courts in the minority language, government services, and to some degree, opportunities to use this language as a means of instrumental communications in day-to-day work situations. Studies have also shown that in an age of television, facilities should be provided as well to linguistic minorities to extend the communication networks and cultural achievements they need to maintain themselves. If people do not live "by bread alone," neither do minority languages live "by schools alone." A wider institutional space must be opened up so that the language and the community that uses it is not "marked" as a minority language of low prestige and restricted use. Therefore, the point would seem to be that "passing the buck" to the school system is not enough. It might be a place to start, but certainly not one to stop. Decisionmakers should be aware of where they are likely to end on the road of extending cultural autonomy when they commit themselves to its pursuit. Otherwise a program may generate more frustrations that it tries to alleviate. I think that Professor Veltman should have addressed this issue more openly.

However, my disagreement goes deeper since I believe that to be successful, government intervention on linguistic minorities should be more global than what Professor Veltman seems to assume. Here I would like to quote a sociologist from Finland, Erik Allardt, who has intensively studied the problems of linguistic minorities in Europe. Discussing governmental policies about the demands of linguistic minorities for more cultural autonomy, he writes:

> There are great difficulties in implementing public policies because different minorities are in very different situations and represent very different developmental levels. This is particularly true as regard the problem of whether minorities should be given separate institutions, their own schools and agencies, for example. In other words, should one promote a "dedoublement" of institutions or agencies or not? Some results indicate that European States today can very well afford the doubling of agencies. The real problem lies on another level. If a strong cultural division of labor exists and, in particular, if there is a hierarchical division of labor, then the creation of special schools and institutions for the minority is apt to only increase the cultural division of labor. Reasonable policy ought to start with economic and structural changes in order to weaken the cultural division of labor before creating special schools and agencies for the minority. Otherwise there will only be a strengthening of class divisions based on ethnic differences. As soon as different ethnic groups are nearly equal, however, a need for separate facilities arises. There is an increasing emphasis on social needs, such as those ones related to roots and identities, when the basic requirements of security and material needs have been met.[2]

Allardt is arguing that policies of economic and social justice should precede

[2]Erik Allardt, *Implications of Ethnic Revival in Modern Industrialized Societies*,Commentationes Scientiarum Socialium, 12, Helsinki, 1979.

policies of cultural justice. In my view, they should go together. So, in the same way that governmental intervention on one institutional sector, such as the schools, should not be separated from interventions on other institutional sectors, a policy of cultural justice for linguistic minorities should not be pursued in isolation. The policy implications of linguistic pluralism would then seem to be more complex than Professor Veltman is ready to assume in his report. Finally, what I dispute here is not Veltman's awareness of this complexity. I am quite certain that he is aware of it. However, the message should be put squarely to decisionmakers, because our responsibility is to let them know what they are embarking upon when the issue of cultural pluralism is confronted.

My second point of criticism of Professor Veltman's report concerns his way of responding to the fear that the extension of cultural autonomy for linguistic minorities might lead to political fragmentation. As Veltman puts it, this is the fear of "balkanization" or of the emergence in the United States of "little Quebecs."

Veltman deals with this reaction by showing that linguistic minorities in the United States are of a different kind than in French Quebec. Linguistic autonomy has led to intense mobilization in Quebec. American linguistic minorities, he argues, exemplify what he calls a "subordinate model," while French Quebec exemplifies the "retentive model." The implication is that "subordinate" minorities do not mobilize to the same extent.

This might well be so, but so what? Rather, the point would seem to be that in modern industrial societies over the last twenty years or so, linguistic minorities have mobilized to a great extent. However, nowhere has this mobilization led to political fragmentation. As the European experience testifies, over the last decade the politics of multilinguistic states has remained one of accommodation, not one of confrontation leading to fragmentation. Therefore, the fear that underlies much of the opposition to an extension of linguistic pluralism in the United States seems to be unfounded in the light of recent Western European experience. The Canadian situation appears to present this fear also. For one thing, political fragmentation has yet to occur in Canada given the rich tradition of accommodation to communal conflict which this country possesses. For another, as presented earlier, Canada may not be a good example to compare to the United States as far as language profiles are concerned. Finally, there does not seem to be any sound evidence that linguistic conflicts in industrial society lead to fragmentation. I would have liked Professor Veltman to be much more clear about this in his report.

In conclusion, I would like to say that while I was impressed by Professor Veltman's treatment of his data on the anglicization of linguistic minorities in the United States and share his concern with the consequences of this process from the point of view of linguistic pluralism in this country, I was disappointed with the way he approached the policy implications of his analysis and the way he went about trying to discard political fears which oppose the extension of cultural autonomy for linguistic minorities. The policy implications would seem to be broader than he thinks. In my opinion, in the United States where the dominance of English is supreme, the scale of governmental intervention needed to protect linguistic minorities is greater and more complex than Professor Veltman seems to be willing to envisage. Professor Veltman should have stated more forcefully that the political fears of cultural autonomy for linguistic minorities in this country cannot be justified in light of recent Western European experience. These fears have yet to be founded on an adequate reading of the Canadian experience.

CRITIQUE by DR. DAVID E. LÓPEZ

Sociology Department
UCLA

Overview

Calvin Veltman's paper provides a subtle analysis of some very interesting data. It is only with 1976 SIE (and the 1975 Current Population Survey) that we have reasonably valid language maintenance data for the United States. His results and interpretations are in line with previous research in the area (Grebler, Moore and Guzman, 1970; Thompson, 1971; López, 1978). Also, they agree with the few tabulations published elsewhere from the 1975 and 1976 language data. I am on record as agreeing with his view about the great contrast between the political situation of French in Quebec and Spanish in the continental United States. (Puerto Rico does have many similarities to Quebec.) His results provide the most persuasive evidence yet available that language shift (anglicization) among the U.S. Hispanic population differs by degree, rather than absolutely, from European immigrants' languages' shift. However, I feel that Veltman does not sufficiently emphasize the historical distinctness of the following three cases: French in Quebec; European immigrants' languages in the U.S.; Spanish in the U.S. and especially in the Southwest. The latter two cases differ radically from Quebec in that they rely or relied upon continuing immigration to maintain ethnic mother tongues. Mass immigration is a thing of the past for European language groups in the United States; but it is very current and continuing for Spanish. Combined with community mechanisms for the maintenance of Spanish (especially in rural Texas and New Mexico), this makes the status of Spanish qualitatively, as well as quantitatively, distinct from most other non-English languages in the United States. On the speech community level, Spanish is vital and growing in vitality every day. It is only superficially paradoxical that this vitality co-exists with rapid intergenerational shift from Spanish toward English. Different individuals within the very heterogeneous Hispanic population are involved in the paradox.

What About the Future?

In the long run the fate of Spanish and other minority languages in the United States would seem to depend largely upon the future immigration. The future is difficult to project and impossible to predict.

What About the Maintenance of Bilingualism?

We know very little about the transmission and maintenance of bilingualism from generation to generation, particularly in settings like those of minority languages in the United States. Immigrant and predominantly working-class populations are faced with tremendous instrumental reasons to attain competence in the socially dominant language. What little we do know suggests that bilingual maintenance in such settings is the exception rather than the rule. Although further analysis and better data are needed on this important question, Veltman's results appear to support this generalization.

What is the Relevance of These Findings for Bilingual Education?

Veltman's results confirm what we already knew from school survey data and from preliminary tabulations from the 1975 and 1976 language data: the majority of limited English speaking and non-English speaking children entering our schools are Spanish-speaking. I am not an expert in bilingual education. And, therefore I am not competent to comment on what these results might suggest about the efficacy of various approaches to bilingual education. But I do want to emphasize that Veltman's results in no way deny the need for programs to serve limited and non-English speaking children. As mentioned above, there is and will continue to be a considerable number of monolingual and predominantly non-English households in the United States. And these households will continue to produce children. Veltman orients his policy discussion to the social and political aspects of non-English language maintenance in the United States. Certainly this is interesting, especially to sociologists of language. But as Veltman himself seems to recognize, it has little relevance to the practical range of policy alternatives in bilingual education.

Notes on Veltman's Methodology

The 1976 SIE provides the single best source of language data ever collected in the United States. Even so it was a survey, not a census; and, therefore, some of his regional analyses may be subject to sampling error problems. But I have found no evidence that this in fact interfered with his analysis at any important point. His cross-tabular approach and choice of variables were appropriate, especially in view of the preliminary nature of this report. Finer intergenerational analyses might be done with data in the future. The results should not be critical but supportive of Veltman's findings.

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CRITIQUE by DR. SAMUEL S. PENG

Westat, Inc.
Rockville, Maryland

I have read with great interest and concern the paper, "The Assimilation of American Language Minorities: Structure, Pace and Extent," by Dr. Calvin J. Veltman. I must say that Dr. Veltman has done a commendable job of presenting the data and conveying the salient ideas to his readers. The analysis is thorough

and comprehensive within the limits of the data available. I have no major reservations with respect to the analysis strategies employed, but I would recommend the inclusion of the following notes of caution:

1. I would like to see some statement about the reliability of survey data. The Survey of Income and Education (SIE) data are responses to interview questionnaires. No validity checks on responses to language items in these questionnaires are conducted. In interpreting the study findings, we need to assume that the data have a high degree of validity and reliability. In future studies of this nature, I believe it will be highly desirable to conduct validity checks.
2. Also I would like to see some acknowledgment of the limitations of the data. For example, sample sizes for most minority language groups are too small for reliable detailed analyses. Any results from these analyses must be interpreted with caution. Although I sympathize with the problems an analyst encounters in using existing data in a complex study, I do think it is the analyst's duty to advise readers of the weaknesses of the data. At a minimum, standard errors for major statistics should be provided.

   I recently conducted a review of the national data bases covering minority language-related studies for InterAmerica Research Associates, Inc., under contract with NCES. My investigation revealed that there are no particularly good data bases currently in existence. I believe that there is an urgent need to collect data from minority groups using a design that includes a sufficiently large sample size for each group. If it utilizes instruments possessing a high degree of validity and reliability, I believe that this data collection effort will provide a valuable basis for examining the various issues relating to minority groups and their languages.

   In addition, I would like to see NCES collect longitudinal data from children of minority language backgrounds to examine their educational and career attainment status, and rate of progress. The current NCES longitudinal studies, the NLS, and the High School and Beyond study do not include in the samples enough minority members except the Hispanics; thus, meaningful analyses based on these data are limited. NCES would provide a great service to minority groups if data collection efforts can be instituted to monitor the status and the related problems of minority people in educational, personal, social, and economic development.
3. The term anglicization connotes cultural as well as linguistic alteration. According to the 1977 edition of Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, anglicization means "to make English in quality or characteristics." When applied to minority language groups, its use implies a shift from one's primary culture to the majority culture of English descendants in this country. Language data from the SIE do not support such a broad generalization, because adopting English as a usual language does not necessarily mean changing one's own cultural identity. People can use English as a common language and still maintain their own cultural heritages. For example, English has been adopted as an official language in many countries, including India and the Philippines. However, people in these countries obviously retain their own ethnic identities and their unique cultures. Thus, I think it is more cogent to speak of adopting English as a lingua franca (i.e., using English as a common language) than it is to speak of anglicization.

Nevertheless, I think that Dr. Veltman's paper is of great significance in providing a basis for discussing the assimilation of minority languages and perhaps in allaying some fears of the possible development of language-based nationalism in this country. First of all, the following important finding is certainly worth noting: minority language groups have been shifting from their primary languages to English at a remarkably fast pace. Even Spanish-speaking immigrants, the most language-retentive group among all ethnic groups, show 30 percent of their members adopting English as their usual language. For most other groups, the language change rate is over 50%. If this trend continues, many minority languages may be retained only by the foreign born.

Then, a plausible question is: Does the fast pace of language change need to be checked? Dr. Veltman appears to answer affirmatively. However, my personal opinion is that the fast rate of language change is not necessarily unwelcome if the change primarily reflects increased mastery of English, but not the total abandonment of native language and, in particular, culture. I strongly believe that a nation should have a common language that all citizens can use with proficiency. The language can be English, Spanish, French, or Chinese, whichever is the most practical to be learned and used by all citizens. In this country, English has been used by the majority of people since the nation's inception. I would think that it is in both the nation's and the individual's interest to ensure that all people can communicate with each other in English, both verbally and in written form. Thus, the fast rate of adoption of English, as shown in data from the SIE, can be viewed as reflecting the following beneficial trend: an increase in the pace at which people with minority language backgrounds adopt English as their common language and develop the habit of using it.

However, I need to clarify my point that adopting English as the common language does not entail accepting English culture as the sole or superior culture, thereby obliterating those of minority groups. On the contrary, I would like to see the government encourage and support programs that are aimed at retaining minority languages as national resources and at nourishing the preservation of various cultural heritages. Tendencies toward ethnocentricity, especially on behalf of the majority cultural group, certainly are not salutary and should be checked. For example, I believe Chinese people do not resist speaking English. They hate to see themselves always portrayed as Suzi Hwangs or Mr. Hos speaking "chop-suey English" and reciting fortune cookie "proverbs" fabricated by English-speaking people. It is acceptable to Chinese and other minority groups to adopt English as a common language in order to function well in this society; but it will not be acceptable to force minority people to abandon their cultural identities or roots and to become thoroughly anglicized.

To effectively understand and cope with these complex issues, we need to examine factors that lead people to shift from one language to another, and then to develop and implement proper actions. Based on my observations, three categories of such factors are identifiable: (1) voluntary actions; (2) environmental pressures; and (3) educational practices. Some ethnic group members change languages because they choose to do so. One obvious reason is that they believe the adoption of English will facilitate their integration into the mainstream of society, where they will fare better. While I have no comprehensive data to show the extent of such voluntary actions, I have met Chinese families in which parents teach their children solely in English and not in Chinese. This course is their own

choice. I believe such cases may be found in Japanese families, in Korean families, and other families of minority background. To these families, I doubt any programs to slow down the pace of adoption of English will be effective or even acceptable.

Environmental pressures probably play the most important role in the process of language change. Some people change languages because of marriage, peer group associations, or employment or business. In other words, they change languages because of the exigencies of daily life. This is probably why the pace of adopting English as the language of common use is highly related to a minority person's place of residence. For example, many Chinese people in Chinatown do not speak English because they carry on their daily business without it. However, if people in Chinatown want to get a job outside their neighborhood or want to do business with the people who are not members of their immediate community, they will have to learn English. What this tells us is that language adoption is part of a social and economic integration process. The more people feel the need to use English and the longer they speak English, the more likely it is that they will shift from their native language to English. However, people may develop feelings of pressures if they are penalized socially and economically because of their minority language backgrounds, which, of course, usually relate to their ethnicity. Thus, in the effort to achieve linguistic integration, we also must educate our whole society to appreciate the value of minority cultural heritages. We also must ensure equal opportunities in education and employment for people with minority language backgrounds.

Educational practices directly affect persons' language learning, particularly when the individuals are young. A child can shift easily from one language used at home to another used at school. However, unless children have firmly mastered their mother tongues prior to schooling, they will be likely to abandon their primary languages, especially if there is no continuous reinforcement at home. When a child goes to public schools where English is the instructional language, as well as the language used by his or her peers, that child may not see the value of the other language. Of course, this situation may cause some confusion and conflict at home. Parents may want their children to retain their primary language; but children may be reluctant to do so because they see it as not useful outside the home. A child also may develop a sense of resentment in school if the lack of effective language skills hampers his or her school work and school life. To reduce such confusion and frustration, special care and understanding of minority children are needed. In addition, regardless of language background, school children need to be taught from a very early age to respect the various cultural and language heritages of all groups in this country.

In summary, I believe that adopting English as the common language is probably a natural consequence acceptable to many minority language group members. In many respects it is beneficial to the nation as a whole, as well as to individuals. I say this because I believe a nation needs a common language, regardless of whether the language is one's native tongue or not. Nevertheless, I strongly believe that the government should: systematically assist minority group members to retain their mother tongue; encourage English-speaking people to learn other languages; and preserve and nourish the various cultural heritages that contribute to American culture. Understanding and appreciating diverse cultures can only

add to the greatness of this nation. Integration of minorities into American society can be analogous to adding sugar to drinking water. You may not see the sugar, but the water surely becomes sweet.

The next question is, how should minority languages and cultures be integrated into American society? I suggest that we support a public educational system in which all children will be ensured the opportunity to attain proficiency in English. At the same time the children will be provided with opportunities to learn or study further at least one additional language of their choice. To accomplish this goal, I do not believe it is necessary to develop parallel public school systems where languages other than English are the ordinary languages of instruction and English is taught only as one subject among others. For the reasons I mentioned earlier, separate systems will not arrest the pace of the adoption of English but will create or reinforce antagonism among subgroups. Besides, if children cannot achieve the necessary proficiency in English, they may be hampered in entering the mainstream of American society. These children will be similar to new immigrants to this country. Many of them are unable to compete effectively in the labor market and in other social and economic settings because of the lack of English language skills. They may be confined to certain communities or regions with limited opportunities.

However, I do believe that the Federal government should vigorously support the following courses of action:

1. Continue to support programs that assist minority members in achieving English proficiency. Title 1 programs and bilingual educational programs, for example, are among those that have such an objective.
2. Institute or reinforce programs in public schools to teach minority languages such as Spanish, French, or Chinese, depending on the needs of local communities. Children of both English and non-English speaking backgrounds should be encouraged to learn second languages. Schools also should be encouraged to utilize local resources in this effort. These programs should be established in elementary schools, not just in high schools. NCES may want to survey the current status of minority language programs in this country. I believe such programs need improvement.
3. Provide Federal assistance to local communities to develop and operate programs that are aimed at maintaining and enriching cultural variety. The current Cultural Heritage Programs administered by the Department of Education are steps in the right direction, but they need to be expanded.
4. Provide Federal assistance to programs developed to provide minority language instruction and culture studies outside of the public schools. For example, after-school classes and weekend schools can provide a great opportunity to children who want to learn other minority languages and cultures.
5. Institute programs that are aimed at integrating minority cultures into school curricula. Various minority culture courses of study should be offered in public school to increase children's awareness and appreciation of the variety of cultural heritages in this country.

I believe that the programs outlined above, if they are properly implemented, will help to preserve minority languages that are valuable national resources. While at

the same time, all people in this nation will communicate in a common language. This common language can be expanded and continuously revitalized English, enriched with elements from Spanish, French, German, Chinese, and the other ethnic group languages. Let's call this language "American" and educate all people in this nation to use it to truly communicate with each other.

DR. VELTMAN'S RESPONSE TO CRITIQUES

Given the wide range of comments presented both by the discussants and the invited participants, I have decided to respond only to those which either pose interesting questions or extend the analysis still further. Certain of my colleagues desire that I accept the responsibility to nuance a bit some of the implications. I do not deny, for example, that small "language islands" (Fishman, 1966) may continue to exist within the very broad patterns of anglicization which I have described. This is particularly true of groups with strong religious identities, such as the Hasidic and Amish communities which exist in certain regions of the United States. Nonetheless, in the broad sweep of American life one would have to conclude that such examples are relatively few in number. I am less inclined to accept the idea that rural Texas constitutes a similar language island, especially since David López (verbal comments) suggests the presence of a rural-urban migration.

Secondly, I am willing to accept comments of a sociolinguistic nature which suggest that language use is multidimensional in character. Census-type questions cannot adequately tap this multidimensionality, particularly not the limited number we have used in this report. This is all well and good, but quite beside the issue. The type of analysis used in this report is not only that which has come to be accepted as normative in Canada; it is perfectly logical as well. If we cannot capture all the multidimensional aspects of language use, the use of Census-type questions certainly permits us to estimate both the direction and extent of language shift. People can more or less adequately report their mother tongue. It is quite likely that they can also report the language they usually speak. This is the basis of the comparison we have made—it is not complicated or the least bit esoteric. What is more, the application of this model to the SIE data confirms what we already subjectively know: all groups are subjected to living in an English language environment where both demographic and economic factors serve to attract people to abandon their non-English languages.

Given this general understanding, the specific question posed by Castonguay regarding the wording of the usual language question merits some further discussion. Castonguay contends that the question should be context-specific. I agree. This question, however, is not. Castonguay contends as a result that my estimates of language shift are exaggerated. I have already made this observation in the paper itself. I doubt, however, that they are as exaggerated as he seems to think. The questionnaire was administered in the home setting and the individual language questions were administered after the household language questions. The household language questions were context-specific, asking what languages the people in the household often spoke at home. These two circumstances lead me to think that people may have imposed a context-specific interpretation on the usual language question, even though the question itself was not context-specific. Regardless of this relatively sophisticated point of debate, there seems to be no

important disagreement between Castonguay and myself regarding the quality of the SIE data. Consequently, we are talking about small changes in the general rate of anglicization defined in the paper itself. No amount of manipulation of the usual language question will invalidate the general findings.

Castonguay then applies this general principle to the age curves, specifically those which compare anglicization in Texas and in Ontario. In essence he argues that younger persons are more likely to invoke the language of work as a context in which the usual language is defined, whereas persons who have left the work force are more likely to define the home context as the relevant framework in which to respond to this question. Even if this is conceded as a possibility, the effect would be to flatten out the acceleration in anglicization observed in Texas. Nonetheless, the slope of the anglicization curve is so much steeper in Texas than it is in Ontario that it would be difficult to imagine that such a process could indeed make them equivalent. One is obliged to conclude that anglicization has risen more rapidly even in the most retentive region of the United States than it has in Ontario, precisely for the reasons adduced, namely the lack of opportunity to live and work in the Spanish language to any great extent.

Others pretend to see in the shape of the anglicization curve a theory of a return to the Spanish language as one gets older. This way of treating data from a single (cross-sectional) study has been pretty well discredited in Canada, largely because of Castonguay's seminal and extraordinary contributions. One such example is contained in his contribution to this seminar. In a report prepared for the Canadian Federal government Lachapelle (1980) concludes that any such movement of a return to the mother tongue as usual language is likely to be nullified by the continuing anglicization of other members of the group as a function of longer period of residence. Furthermore, any such returns to the mother tongue would be without consequence for the future, such persons having already raised their families.

Several of the commentators have attempted to move us beyond the data contained in this seminar. Laporte argues forcefully that the European data show that nation-states can develop ethnically-based political accommodations to movements for regional autonomy. He also argues that the development of a public, non-English language educational system would not in itself guarantee language maintenance, underlining the importance of political and economic development in the maintenance process. On this issue I am in complete agreement with him, having stated my position in the text policy implications section (pp. 40–42). I simply tried to indicate what type of propositions might be acceptable within the American constitutional framework. In general I find his comments extremely valuable and an important contribution to the seminar.

This is also true of his comment that I did not state the differences between Quebec and the American situation in sufficiently stark terms. He says that the difference between anglicization in Quebec and that in the United States is not so much a difference of degree; it is a difference in kind. He notes, for example, that the French came to North America as conquerors, implying that immigrants arrive with a lesser status. This is true, but the "conquerors" lost that status in an important way after the Conquest of 1760. In this sense the situation of the original Spanish settlers of the Southwest was not completely different. What is different is that the French population of Quebec maintained its language, due in part to

geographic isolation, political accommodations, the concentration of the English bourgeoisie in Quebec City and Montreal (among other factors), which permitted the survival of the French language into the 20th century. Since Quebec possesses some of the economic resources which Laporte finds crucial to the success of regional autonomy movements, the industrialization of Quebec did not destroy the French-speaking group in Quebec, although it undoubtedly increased contacts with English-speaking people and institutions. Thus, the differences in kind so well noted by Laporte are not likely to be based on a "tradition of conquerors" but more likely on the historical factors which permitted the French majority to survive. The differences in degree which I have noted in the paper are in fact evidence for the existence of a difference in kind.

The comments by Estrada push the analysis in another direction. He suggests in effect that data on the period of immigration may help explain between-group differences in the rates of anglicization among the foreign born. We did not complete this analysis in the first place because of our desire to keep sample sizes as large as possible, in the second because the table which we did present adequately proves the point we wished to make—namely that the generation of the foreign born itself begins the anglicization process to an important extent. Nonetheless, Estrada's point is intriguing.

To deal with this concern we have constructed Tables A1 to A3 which are appended to this discussion. Briefly, the data generally show (as Estrada predicted) that earlier immigrants are more extensively anglicized than later immigrants. As a rule this is true of all language groups, although sometimes the

Table A1. Language shift patterns, by mother tongue, foreign born immigrants to the United States before 1960, aged 14 and over, 1976

Language Group	Percent English Usual Language			Percent Non-English Usual Language			Weighted Sample
				Competency in English			
	Total	Mono-lingual	Bilingual	Total	High	Low	
Chinese	44.4	11.5	32.9	55.6	29.9	25.7	93,682
Filipino	70.1	15.6	54.5	29.9	25.6	4.3	79,543
French	85.5	48.3	37.2	14.5	11.6	2.9	190,851
German	94.0	53.1	40.9	6.0	4.7	1.3	768,680
Greek	64.3	18.7	45.6	35.7	26.9	8.8	117,691
Italian	71.9	35.5	36.4	28.1	17.8	10.4	650,886
Japanese	50.2	23.4	26.8	49.8	11.7	38.1	83,596
Polish	74.4	37.3	37.1	25.6	17.8	7.8	342,354
Portuguese	64.3	27.3	37.0	35.7	23.0	12.7	73,291
Scandinavian	95.4	71.3	24.1	4.6	3.9	0.7	180,862
Spanish:							
1950's	39.6	4.9	34.7	60.4	33.0	27.4	659,224
Before 1950	44.9	8.5	36.4	55.1	25.4	29.7	496,832

Source: 1976 Survey of Income and Education.

Table A2. Language shift patterns by mother tongue, foreign born immigrants to the United States during the 1960's, aged 14 and over, 1976

Language Group	Percent English Usual Language			Percent Non-English Usual Language			Weighted Sample
				Competency in English			
	Total	Mono-lingual	Bilingual	Total	High	Low	
Chinese	33.6	3.4	30.2	66.4	40.0	26.4	110,416
Filipino	71.5	27.1	44.4	28.5	25.9	2.6	83,128
French	56.6	15.7	43.9	40.4	36.1	4.3	91,756
German	89.3	37.7	51.6	10.7	10.2	0.5	143,330
Greek	29.7	1.0	28.7	70.3	36.2	34.1	63,973
Italian	53.4	8.3	45.1	46.6	23.1	23.5	172,117
Japanese	78.8	24.3	54.5	21.2	16.2	5.0	26,325
Polish	52.5	10.6	41.9	47.5	24.0	23.5	43,156
Portuguese	29.9	3.1	26.8	70.1	25.7	44.4	98,089
Scandinavian	99.8	32.0	67.8	0.2	0.2	0.0	25,347
Spanish	29.1	2.9	26.2	70.1	31.3	39.6	1,159,690

Source: 1976 Survey of Income and Education.

Table A3. Language shift patterns by mother tongue, foreign born immigrants to the United States during the 1970's, aged 14 and over, 1976

Language Group	Percent English Usual Language			Percent Non-English Usual Language			Weighted Sample
				Competency in English			
	Total	Mono-lingual	Bilingual	Total	High	Low	
Chinese	34.4	4.2	30.2	66.4	40.0	26.4	119,340
Filipino	51.9	8.9	43.0	48.1	38.4	9.7	146,366
French	53.6	10.3	43.3	46.4	30.3	16.1	51,739
German	70.8	31.2	39.6	29.2	21.4	7.8	37,024
Greek	27.0	0.9	26.1	73.0	30.1	42.9	50,325
Italian	34.3	1.8	32.5	65.7	11.9	53.8	72,932
Japanese	43.6	15.9	27.7	56.4	26.2	30.2	39,519
Polish	29.4	7.2	22.2	70.6	26.6	44.0	11,496
Portuguese	15.8	2.7	13.1	84.2	31.2	53.0	63,168
Scandinavian	60.3	19.8	40.5	39.7	39.7	0.0	9,037
Spanish	12.2	0.4	11.8	87.8	21.2	66.6	879,087

Source: 1976 Survey of Income and Education.

sample sizes are so small that any degree of confidence in the findings is suspect. Nonetheless, within each time period presented in the tables, the Spanish language group is characterized by levels of anglicization substantially lower than those of most other groups. For some time periods the Chinese, Greek, and Portuguese groups have anglicization rates which are approximately as low as those of the Spanish language group, but on the whole we must conclude that the Spanish language immigrants appear to be somewhat more retentive of the Spanish language than similar immigrants in other language groups. In general these findings generally conform to those presented in the text of the paper (Table 4).

The comments by López suggest strong support of both the method of analysis and the findings, which is not surprising given the findings which he has previously published. These findings are superior in some respects to those derived from the SIE, since López can distinguish between second and third generations born in the United States (López, 1978). On the other hand, the SIE data permit us to move beyond the Los Angeles setting to which López was confined in his source of data. Nonetheless, López wants to move beyond the SIE data to make general judgments about the relative speed of anglicization among the Spanish language group of today as compared to previous waves of immigration. He contends that the anglicization of the Spanish language group of today is somewhat slower in pace than that of which characterized previous waves of immigrant groups. This, it seems to me, is difficult to sustain. First of all, no comparable data set to the SIE ever existed in the past, so it is very difficult to find any basis for making such judgments. Secondly, even when using the age-cohort analysis presented in this report, we cannot make serious approximations of the rates of anglicization which may have pertained before the Second World War. Thus, any differences in anglicization rates which may be revealed for 1976 cannot be projected backwards in time. Thirdly, there is every reason to believe that anglicization rates were generally lower in the past than they are now, due to such factors as rural isolation, the lack of mass education, the lack of mass communications, the lack of penetration of national institutions at the local level. If, in addition, previous immigrant groups were characterized both by large numbers and geographic concentration (Scandinavian and German groups in the rural Midwest or French Canadians in New England), we have good reason to suspect that these groups were affected by lower rather than higher anglicization rates.

One further point underlines my hesitation to accept López's conclusion. In data prepared subsequent to this report I have analyzed the relationship between the language behavior of parents and the language behavior of children. Briefly, children of Spanish language parentage are nearly as likely to have adopted the English language as usual language spoken as are children of parents from other language backgrounds (Veltman, 1981). The single difference noted was that the Spanish language children were more likely to retain the use of the minority language as a second language often spoken. The remaining children were more likely to adopt an English usual language pattern. These data suggest that the major differences between the Spanish and the other language minorities consist in the linguistic choices of the immigrants themselves. Their children tend to react in relatively the same manner to the linguistic characteristics of their parents and the facts of life in the United States (children are much more anglicized than their

parents). Nonetheless, the Spanish language children remain more bilingual, at least during the ages studied (6-17), a fact which may easily be explained by the impact of continued immigration on language use in the rest of the Spanish language community.

Finally, a number of participants expressed concern with the implications of the study for language policy. Some indicated that every report has an independent life, independent of the intentions of the author. This is likely to be so. Consequently, some of the issues involved need to be addressed. The first issue which we shall tackle is the importance of this report for bilingual education. The data suggest that anglicization is a normative process and the implications that we have given indicate that it should be arrested. Bilingual education is designed to accelerate anglicization. Nonetheless, it seems that this fact is really beside the issue. Bilingual education is designed to provide a framework for better learning. The test of whether or not bilingual education works is its effect on children enrolled in such programs. This is a matter for empirical investigation in its own right. What we can say with clarity is that neither bilingual education programs nor any other programs currently imaginable threaten the linguistic integrity of the United States. That can no longer be used to justify resistance to bilingual education.

Secondly, it should be pointed out that the rapid policy of the anglicization of immigrant populations has long term negative consequences. The Presidential Commission report which bemoans the status of foreign language learning in the United States did not connect that fact to the treatment which language minorities have received in this country. Previous language minorities which themselves numbered in the millions have been virtually wiped out, including the major European language groups. The data contained in this report suggest that this anglicization process is probably stronger now than it was in the report. If the United States decides that it needs citizens capable of communicating in languages other than English, natural pools of people possessing such skills constantly are found in the United States. These people need to be encouraged to maintain these skills, minimally by offering some institutional settings within which the language will be valuable. The importance of the school in this respect is evident. This contradiction between the desire to eliminate language minorities and the desire to find competent speakers of languages other than English needs to be underlined to Federal policy makers. The minority language groups themselves must accept the responsibility to vigorously argue this point, it being fairly obvious that the contradiction has not been recognized by the Presidential Commission charged to study the issue.

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PART II

Seminar Proceedings

INTRODUCTION BY MARIE D. ELDRIDGE AND VICTOR D. WENK OF NCES

Mrs. Eldridge: I would like to welcome you here this morning to the NCES Forum on Educational Issues. We are very pleased to have this conference very early on with the inception of the new Education Department.

Dr. Rutherford, the Assistant Secretary for Research and Improvement, expresses his regret that he is not able to be here, due to a prior commitment with the Secretary. I am sure you all understand his sense of priorities.

The forum will be useful and productive to the extent that it is a place in which important issues and ideas affecting education are explored, challenged, and, hopefully, clarified. The purpose of the forum is neither to proselytize nor to condemn an idea or an issue. We have no preconceptions or beliefs about the topic to be presented. To enhance the level and quality of public debate and discussion on broad national education-related issues, the National Center disseminates the analysis of available data.

The Center considers the forum as a place for all to: hear and debate the facts regarding the topic; exchange their assessments of these facts; and better appreciate the significance of these facts.

Ron Pedone, whom most of you know, was the project manager on Dr. Veltman's paper. He has basically organized this conference.

I believe we have a very exciting program to start off the NCES forum. Dr. Veltman's paper and the discussants bring a depth of perspective that I believe is unprecedented.

For those of you who are not familiar with the Survey of Income and Education, I will mention briefly that it was a special data collection effort carried out by the Census Bureau for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. NCES participated in that effort by setting additional data related to language minorities.

When Dr. Veltman became aware of the data that were collected in the SIE, he saw an extremely fruitful data base. He was most interested in mining, clarifying, and defining complex social issues related to language minorities in the United States and, to the extent possible, to relate that to the Canadian experience.

We are, therefore, very fortunate not just to have scholars from the United States but from Canada here today. We are very grateful that they were able to come.

It is appropriate, therefore, that the forum begin its first meeting with a paper that has no precedent in the statistical literature in the United States and which relates to a subject about which people have strong and varying opinions and beliefs. The statistical contribution provides a framework for the appreciation of social issues and questions. We want the forum to be a place for people to discover objective information and move out of the area of educated guesses. The aim is to provide a solid basis for informed decisionmaking and policy formulation. I hope we will have a productive and informative seminar. The topic is particularly timely in light of the current influx of the Cubans to our shores and the upcoming Quebec referendum.

Before turning the podium over to Mr. Wenk, the Deputy Administrator, who will chair the session, I would like to call your attention to the publication which I believe you have all received: The Condition of Education for Hispanic Americans. It is literally hot off the press. We were very fortunate to be able to secure these copies in time for this conference. The Department is going to publicly release the document hopefully within the next few days, but I personally felt it would be unconscionable to hold up that release with this seminar scheduled. Therefore, you are getting a pre-release copy. I hope you will treat it as such.

What I call the Hispanic C of E is basically a compilation of data from existing data sources providing statistical information concerning the education, participation, and achievement of Hispanic Americans and other demographic material. We attempt to compare those data with those of non-Hispanic whites. This, too, is a first.

We hope you will find it helpful in the English version. It is in the process of being translated into Spanish, and those of you who wish a copy of that can secure that when it is available from the Center.

We certainly would appreciate any comments you have on it, and obviously at the end of the seminar any comments you might have regarding the proceedings of today.

Again, thank you very much for coming. I will now turn the meeting over to Mr. Wenk.

DESCRIPTION OF EVENTS

Mr. Wenk: Good morning. Let me add my note of welcome.

Of course, we know that the role of the National Center is the provision of objective data to serve the purposes of discussion, debate, and clarification. To the degree possible, the Center tries from time to time to report on the meaning and significance of those data. This seminar fits very much into the context of supporting those missions. We expect that during the day there will be significant comment and discussion elicited from the panelists and our invited guests. And we expect that the data may find further utilization beyond that displayed today.

Beyond that, we hope that the seminar will provide for us a basis for planning future data collection efforts and modifying currently existing collection efforts as well as a follow-through analysis we hope to perform, along with others, in these areas. We are hopeful that we may be able to identify significant gaps in available data that are pertinent to this issue of national concern in its educational context.

Dr. Veltman is from the State University of New York at Plattsburgh. One of his major areas of interest is linguistic demography in the U.S. and Canadian context.

ORAL PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY BY DR. CALVIN J. VELTMAN

Dr. Veltman: Thank you very much.

It is, indeed, a pleasure for me to be here with so many distinguished people both in the audience and on the panel.

I wrote this paper quite a long time ago. Since I wrote this paper I have learned a

lot which may come out during the course of the discussion. I am sure that the panelists will be certain that I learn more today.

The first thing I want to clarify is that my goal in this paper is not to count people. I am not interested in counting people of limited English-speaking ability, which is one of the principal purposes of the SIE and the reason that the data were collected. I am interested in using the SIE questions or the language questions that were used to help to get an understanding of the process of linguistic assimilation in the United States which I call "anglicization".

If you want to set the problem in its most stark terms, I am addressing the survival potential of language groups in the United States. For example, a lot of people in the United States are under the impression that the Spanish language is alive, well, thriving, and growing. They are unaware of the possibility that continued immigration is giving us that impression. There is substantial anglicization going on among the native born members of the population.

For this purpose, I find that the SIE is a very uniquely suited instrument. There are a number of very well-formulated questions in the SIE which may be used to begin to understand and unravel linguistic assimilation in the United States. There are three questions on which I focused. I will briefly name them.

First of all, there is a question on mother tongue: "What language was usually spoken in this person's home when he or she was a child?" There is a question on the individual's usual language: "What language does this person usually speak?" This is very straightforward. It's a nice question. There is a question on second language: "Does this person often speak another language?" If the answer to that is yes, the language is determined by another question. These three exceedingly precious questions assist in understanding how much language shift may be occurring within a given individual's and the studied group's lifetime.

The first thing I want to point out is that the SIE is an extremely large sample. Including the Gallup poll, most public opinion polls in the United States are based on samples of 2,000 people or under. This size is what we use for "Do you intend to vote for Reagan or Carter?" The SIE sampled 110,000 households. There are 440,000 records for individuals. The Hispanic sample which I am using in this study is 6,000-plus persons aged 14 and over. I didn't bring the under 14 count with me, but it's about 3,000, maybe more. So we are dealing with a much larger sample than is normally used by United States social scientists. It seems to me that because the sample is so large, the data that I am going to present cannot be lightly dismissed as an aberration in the world.

It will probably be true that many of the people in this room, myself included, may not be wild about the findings. That's not to say that they are not accurate. In addition to unraveling a little bit the process of linguistic assimilation in the United States, my second goal is to compare the linguistic situation in the United States with the linguistic situation in Canada. For most Americans the most unthinkable example of what we would not want to have happen to the United States is Quebec. Linguistic nationalism in Quebec stirs great fears among many people in the United States.

I must say that I live in Quebec. I am an American living in Quebec. I really do feel that we get bad press in the United States. People do not understand very well what is going on in Quebec or its cultural or historical origins. I think other people on the panel are perhaps better suited to address that issue than I am. I will at least

address the linguistic issue to show that there is no comparison whatsoever between what is going on in Quebec and what we see happening in the United States.

I think most of our information about Quebec comes from the English language press, which is notoriously unsympathetic and hostile to what is going on in Quebec.

The basic principle for understanding linguistic assimilation is to begin with some base with which we can compare current data. The first base that I chose to begin this comparison is to take a look at ancestry groups or, if you will, ethnic origin groups.

For example, I took a look at all the people in the United States in the SIE who declared that they were of German ancestry. I said: okay, let's find out how many of these people of German ancestry have no German language background whatsoever. This would be a measure of the extent to which the German group in the United States has been anglicized in the past, presuming that everybody who came from Germany at one point spoke German. Maybe that is not completely true, but it seems like a reasonable assumption. So we take the ethnic origin as a base. Then we look to see how many people no longer have the language associated with their ethnic origin. I am going to focus mainly on Hispanics because I think more people in this room are interested in Hispanics than some of the other language groups. However, from time to time I will make references to other groups.

I focus on the Hispanics not only because they are the largest, but also because in fact they do have somewhat more retentive language patterns. There is less anglicization than for some of the other groups. So in a way everything I say about anglicized Hispanics can be doubled or quadrupled if we are talking about French, German, Portuguese, Filipino, or any of the other language groups. As one of my colleagues put it, these language groups are any of the other exotic language groups to which we may happen to belong.

Looking at ethnicity then, one finds that 31 percent of the people are of Hispanic origins. I will go over the list for you. They said they were Chicana; they said they were Mexicano; they said they were Mexican-American; they said they were Puerto Rican; they said they were Cuban, Central or South American, or some sort of mixed Hispanic. Thirty-one percent of the people from those backgrounds reported no language background in Spanish. That is, they did not speak Spanish as a principal household language. They did not use Spanish as a second household language. Spanish was not their personal mother tongue. They did not usually speak Spanish. They didn't have Spanish as a second language. That was 31 percent.

For the Chinese, it was 45 percent. For the Greek ethnic ancestry, it was 50 percent. All others are higher.

One begins by noting that a certain percentage of the Hispanics now living in the United States come from totally anglicized background. Their parents at some point abandoned the Spanish language and only transmitted English to their kids.

For current adults of minority language background, we can get an idea of the extent of anglicization by comparing the mother tongue to the usual language. If a person is of Spanish mother tongue and English usual language, we note that that person is not of Spanish mother tongue and Spanish usual language. In my definitions that person is anglicized. That's what I call anglicization.

Well, that's an interesting measure. Why? The answer to that is because not only does that person usually speak English today, but logically his children will have English for a mother tongue because English is the language that he usually speaks.

There are two forms of anglicization that are detectable from the SIE. One is a bilingual form. That's the situation where a person has a Spanish mother tongue and an English usual language. The persons says: "Yes, I speak Spanish often at home. English usually, but I speak Spanish as a second language often."

There is a more profound kind of anglicization where in response to the question, "Do you often speak another language?" the person says no. This person has become, for all intents and purposes, at least to my mind, an English monolingual. He has a Spanish mother tongue. Now he or she usually speaks English. Spanish is not the daily language. He may use it on ceremonial occasions, like when the grandmother comes over. He may use it from time to time. But according to his own conceptions, it is not an important daily language of use. He may not use it at all. This is not detectable from the SIE. All we know is that he does not use it often anymore.

There are these two forms of anglicization. We measure them by using the mother tongue as a base. We count up the percentage of people who now usually speak English. We can divide those into two groups: those who still speak Spanish with frequency and those who say that they don't speak it with frequency anymore. So there are two forms of anglicization.

For people who were born outside the United States, what do we know about their language patterns? We know that 29 percent of the adults 14 and over, of Spanish mother tongue, born outside the United States usually speak English. Three and one half percent say they don't speak Spanish with frequency anymore. That's a fairly low figure. We are talking about people who were born outside the United States. We are not talking about native born people. We are talking about people for whom Spanish was their mother tongue. Four percent or three percent say they no longer speak Spanish often. Fully 29 percent say they usually speak English.

The figures are higher for other groups. In the Chinese group, for example, 34 percent usually speak English, and 6 percent don't speak Chinese very often. For Portuguese: 38 percent usually speak English; 12 percent are what I call English monolinguals or practicing English monolinguals. For Greeks: 46 percent usually speak English; 10 percent are English monolingual. For Filipino, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Scandinavian groups: 50 to 95 percent of people born outside the United States usually speak English.

I conclude that anglicization begins in the immigrant generation. Immigrants to the United States do not retain their languages. In the immigrant generation, there is substantial movement toward the English language. Substantial percentages of all language groups adopt English as their usual language. There are even greater pushes among some of the people to become monolingual in English. As you might expect, when we get to the native born, anglicization rates are much higher. Native born people are exposed from birth to the American language environment.

Of native born people of Spanish mother tongue 14 years of age and over, 64 percent say that they usually speak English. Fourteen percent say they don't speak Spanish very often. That is one of the most retentive patterns.

The groups that are more retentive are native American groups. I will come back

to them when I speak about the Navajo who are the most retentive language group in the United States.

In groups except for the Spanish and the native American groups, 87 percent or more of the people of minority mother tongues reported in the SIE that they usually spoke English. Excluding Chinese, about 50 percent native born said that they spoke English in its monolingual form rather than its bilingual form.

There is a problem here in the SIE data which is not remediable. David López has shown in his work that there is a difference between the first and second generations of native born. We can't distinguish between them here. If we had the data, it is probably fair to say that the second generation would be less anglicized than the third generation.

In the SIE, all we have is native born. We know that the figures are very, very high: 87 percent and over for most groups; 50 percent or more of the monolingual form, except for the Chinese where it is 29 percent. The Spanish have the most retentive pattern: 64 percent anglicization rate and 14 percent speak English in its monolingual form.

I conclude that there is still greater anglicization among the native born than among the foreign born. It is much more frequently of a monolingual variety. The foreign-born people who become English speaking normally retain the use of their mother tongue as a second language. Among the native born, we notice the opposite. With the exception again of the Spanish, Chinese and native American, we note the opposite. Those who anglicize tend to opt for the monolingual form of English rather than retaining their mother tongue as a frequently used, second language. There is a difference in the pattern between the foreign-born and the native born.

After this analysis, I decided to milk the SIE data for what they were worth. One makes no great pretensions to methodological purity. For example, when I constructed my New York metropolitan area, I stole two counties from Connecticut. I stole a couple of SMSA's from New Jersey. It seemed logical that those places went together. If I just looked at New York City and Nassau-Suffolk, they wouldn't quite represent the New York metropolitan area.

To get an idea of whether or not there are regional differences in anglicization, I established some regions. Basically I looked at the French, the Spanish, and the Navajo. I decided to look at groups with native born anglicization rates less than 90 percent. It seemed to me that when the anglicization rate got to be 90 percent among the native born, regional differences did not matter too much.

Let's look at the French. Among the foreign-born in three northern New England states, 51 percent of French mother tongue said that they usually spoke English. Nineteen percent said that they spoke English in its monolingual form. They didn't retain their mother tongue.

In southern New England, the figures are much higher. Eighty-two percent of the foreign-born people of French mother tongue usually spoke English. Thirty-four percent spoke English in its monolingual form. There are higher anglicization rates in southern New England than in northern New England. Because there are no foreign-born French-speaking people in Louisiana, I don't have any data for that.

If we look at the French mother tongue native born in northern New England, the anglicization rate is 84 percent. In its monolingual form, the rate is 40 percent. In southern New England, it's 95 percent. In Louisiana, the rate is somewhat lower.

Only 74 percent of the people of French mother tongue say they usually speak English. Half of them speak English in its monolingual form; and half, in the bilingual form.

There are some exceedingly interesting differences among the Spanish regions. In Texas, for example, 15 percent of the foreign-born people of Spanish mother tongue say they usually speak English. About 1 percent have abandoned Spanish as a daily language. The rates of anglicization seem to be much lower in Texas than they are elsewhere.

The rest of the regions I picked were New York, Florida, the industrial midwestern states, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. The percentage of foreign-born people who usually speak English varies between 23 and 33 percent. It is about the same in all those regions. The abandonment rate, people who don't usually speak Spanish is from 1 to 3.5 percent. Basically you can see that in most regions foreign-born people of Spanish mother tongue do not abandon Spanish in the first generation. But a certain percentage of them do tend to subordinate it to English as their usual language.

The Rocky Mountain states include Colorado and some of the smaller states around it. In this region, 48 percent of the people of Spanish mother tongue born outside the United States usually speak English. Nine percent have abandoned Spanish as a daily language among the foreign-born. The anglicization rate is somewhat higher than it is in other regions.

These regional patterns are maintained among the native born, although the figures are higher. In Texas, 40 percent of the people of Spanish mother tongue born in the United States usually speak English. The abandonment rate, or percentage that have opted for English in its monolingual form, is 4.5 percent. New Mexico also has a little bit lower rate than some of the other regions. Fifty-one percent usually speak English, and 9 percent no longer speak Spanish.

In the other regions the rates are higher. They are particularly high in California and in the Rocky Mountain region that I defined. There seem to be some regional differences and variations in the extent of anglicization. Texas is the most retentive region.

The Navajo figures are interesting, although the sample sizes are small. Only 22 percent of the people of the Navajo mother tongue say that they usually speak English. Mind you, they are all native born of native parentage. There are very few foreign-born in the Navajo group. Those that do switch to English normally retain Navajo as their second language. Only 3 percent have opted for the monolingual form of English.

It has become accepted practice in Canada to consider that language shift basically stops at the age of 35. One of the panelists, Charles Castonguay, has documented the process. Basically we see the following:

Language shift begins in early childhood, notably when the child goes off to school. The longer they are exposed to the English language, the more likely they will make English their usual language. This process accelerates throughout the teenage years. It culminates when the child leaves the parental home, finds a mate, establishes his own home, and enters the job market or university. That liberation from the parental home, the establishment of one's own home, and the choice of one's living partners, is the time when language choices are pretty established.

The following logic has been developed in Canada and documented in a variety

of ways. By looking at the people who are older than 35 years of age, we can get an idea of what their anglicization rates were 10 years ago, 20 years ago, and maybe 25 or 30 years ago. We can see whether those people were more or less anglicized than current young people. We can get an idea of trends even from a cross-sectional piece of data.

Needless to say, with the anglicization rates that I have given you before, whether anglicization seems to be increasing or decreasing is relatively irrelevant. One could conclude that the anglicization rates are high. Nonetheless, when one does do the age analysis, it seems that anglicization is on the increase in the United States. Young adults are more anglicized than are older adults. We can speculate on the causes including: the integration of American society; the spread of mass communication; and the development of Little American Main Streets with the Dunkin' Donuts, McDonalds, Burger Kings, and Taco Bells. The integration of the American economy and its extension into the local regions of the countryside are having an effect on language patterns. The younger people seem to be more anglicized than the older. Let me give you just two examples.

In Louisiana, the general rates for retention of French were somewhat better than in northern and southern New England among the native born. I said previously that 74 percent of the people in Louisiana age 15 (and over) of French mother tongue now usually speak English. If you will look at the 25-to-34-year-olds in Louisiana, you will find out that 95 percent usually speak English, instead of 74 percent. The 74 percent is lower because the older people were much less anglicized. They much more frequently spoke French as their usual language. French mother tongue children growing up in Louisiana are more likely to speak English than people who grew up 30 or 40 years ago, or even 20 years ago.

Another example is in Texas. I am fascinated with the state of Texas. In Texas, for example, 50 percent of the native born 15-to-19-year-olds of Spanish mother tongue now usually speak English. And 8 percent of them are no longer speaking Spanish as an important daily language. That is higher than the rates that I just gave you for the native born taken as a whole (40 percent usually speaking English and only 4 percent abandoning the frequent use of Spanish).

Therefore, it seems that anglicization is on the increase in the United States. Current generations are being anglicized at more rapid rates than were generations in the past. These data tend to conform to what Castonguay, LaChapelle, and others have found for Canada. There has been an increase in anglicization since the Second World War.

I decided that I would address the issue of whether a language can be maintained indefinitely in the United States as a second language. In other words, can or do people who have English as their usual language and still frequently speak their mother tongue have bilingual kids?

In the paper I attempted to answer that by looking at 14-to-17-year-old kids living in households where English was the dominant language with a second language spoken frequently. I found that only 36 percent of the Spanish kids were bilingual in those situations, and 64 percent were not speaking Spanish with frequency. For the other language groups, 0 to 15 percent of the kids were bilingual.

I propose that what happens here is that bilingualism in the parent generation is part of their cultural makeup and their psychological needs as they come to grips with the American environment. The language is not being transmitted effectively to the children and maintaining an English bilingual setting.

Since then I have done another paper which will give you an even better idea. I looked at kids aged 4 to 17 in homes where both parents, or the single parent, usually spoke English and frequently spoke a second language. I called these people English bilinguals.

In the Spanish language homes where both parents were English bilinguals, 50 percent of the kids were declared to usually speak English only. So we have English bilingual setting where Spanish is frequently spoken by both parents or by the single parent and 50 percent of the kids or their parents reported that the kids did not speak Spanish often.

The figure is only marginally higher for the non-Spanish groups taken as a whole. It is only 60 percent. This indicates that the American environment is roughly having the same effect on children who have English bilingual parents. The Spanish group has slightly lower monolingualization rates than the other groups.

Therefore, I conclude that movement to an English bilingual position is not stable because the children of such English bilinguals are frequently monolingual. Consider the previously mentioned age curves, parameters: they have not moved out yet; they have not set up their own homes yet; they haven't gone to the university; and they haven't gone to the job market. So the figures of 50 percent or 60 percent are minimum. By the time these children complete their own linguistic liberation from the parental home and establish their own homes, the percentage is likely to be substantially higher.

Now how do we interpret this? I suppose this is a section of my paper where I am very happy to defer to people who are social policy analysts. I tried to look at the great Quebec fear and to compare these findings to those of Quebec. The language questions are somewhat different. They are not very different, however. The comparison would be much more problematic, if the anglicization rates in the United States looked much more like the anglicization rates in Canada.

Compare the anglicization rates in Texas with those in Ontario and Quebec. In Quebec where the French mother tongue population is basically native born, approximately 80 percent of the population in Quebec is of French mother tongue. The actual figure is around 82 or 83 percent. Six or 7 percent, if I am not mistaken—and my colleagues here can correct me—are of mother tongue. The rest are of other language groups. The anglicization rate in Quebec is 1.5 percent.

In Ontario, which is much more similar to Texas, 6.1 percent of the population is of French mother tongue. The anglicization rate is 30 percent.

Basically I trace these differences to institutional settings. In Ontario—in certain regions of Ontario, at any rate—it is possible for people to go to school in French and to have French parishes and to do a minimum of daily life in French.

On the other hand, in Quebec you can do a lot more than a minimum of your daily life in French. If you are willing to accept certain constraints on the economic market, you can live your whole life in French. Not only are there French schools, there is television and radio. It is possible to get jobs where you only speak French. The jobs are not the end of the world in terms of social status and the money that is paid. There are parishes. In addition to which, there is a very powerful government. The Government of Quebec enjoys many more powers than the government of the state of Texas.

Canada does resemble more a federation than does the United States. The U.S. Federal government can co-opt areas of state power and effectively legislate. That

is not true in many areas of Quebec. The Quebec government is much more powerful than the state government. The Federal government is much more powerful than the state government. The government is elected by the French majority. Thus, there is no comparison to be drawn between Quebec and the American situation. I suggest there is no similarity.

U.S. groups act like immigrant groups. They are immigrants to this country. There seems to be a certain disposition among the foreign born to learn English and to integrate as rapidly as possible. They are oriented toward assimilation to American life. These findings are basically similar in nature to those found by David López in his three generational analysis of Chicanos in Los Angeles.

Where does that leave us with policy suggestions? I have two very limited ones.

First of all, given the Presidential Commission Report on the Status of Foreign Language Instruction in the United States, and given what we now know about anglicization, bilingual education should make every effort to retard anglicization rather than promote it. If we want to have a language pool of people who are capable to live and work in minority languages, we ought to try promoting the evolution of that natural language pool. Trying to eradicate the language as rapidly as possible and then teach them second languages after they are thoroughly anglicized.

Bilingual education, if it is designed to anglicize people as rapidly as possible, accelerates an already too rapid process. People may want to try to convert bilingual education to maintenance programs. Given what we know of the anglicization rates of the native born in the United States, some sort of massive effort needs to be made to retain minority language skills.

Secondly, it may be that teaching second languages effectively to English monolinguals is even more costly in terms of dollars and cents and programming than maintaining the native language skills of immigrants and their children. It may be less costly to create a pool of competent bilinguals from the native born populations or the children of immigrants.

These are my simple suggestions at this point. I think almost any other language planning would be found unconstitutional.

Thank you.

Mr. Wenk: Thank you, Dr. Veltman.

If I may introduce Mr. Pierre Laporte, who is Director of Research and Evaluation for the French Language Office, Quebec. May I ask you for your comments and views?

STATEMENT OF MR. PIERRE LAPORTE

Mr. Laporte: I hope that later on we will examine the question of the reliability of these data. The more I think of it, the more I wonder about these data from such report on language. This is just a question which I think would have to be looked at. When I read your paper the first time it didn't bother me, but now it's bothering me. You mentioned the example about parents reporting on their children and so on and so forth.

In a social context like the United States, where there is a degree of stigmatization on the use of non-English language, I am wondering if there are not

problems of reliability here. They might affect your evaluation of the extent of anglicization.

It is unfortunate, perhaps, that the data, the census data, are not accompanied by observational data. I will leave this issue for the time being.

One other point which I made in my comment is that I realize, Doctor, I may be, as you mentioned, going much beyond what the Constitution of the United States will allow. But it seems to me that if, as you suggest, you are to retard anglicization, I think that you will have to go far beyond bilingual education. The school as an agent of language maintenance has been overemphasized. I think the extension of institutional autonomy to a language minority must go quite beyond school if the language is to be reproduced from generation to generation. There would have to be provision made for courts and services other than social services, and perhaps also what in Quebec we call language in work.

I am aware that perhaps in the United States the kind of bilingual education that you have in mind is as far as you can go. My point is that from a partisan point of view, I think you should say to the policymakers more openly that the school is a limited agency of language maintenance in a situation where schooling in the mother tongue is a limited means of language maintenance, in the situation where the pressure for anglicization seems to be what you show in your paper.

Now the other point about this fear of balkanization or of, as you mention, another Quebec, I agree with you that the comparison here is, I think, unfounded. There is no comparison to make between any of the linguistic minorities that you are talking about and the Quebec situation. I think that it is not a difference of degree but a difference of time. If you compare the resource level of these linguistic groups or linguistic minorities, which we can call the French Canadian in Quebec, they are so different that you cannot make any statement from one situation about the other.

I agree with you that you should have gone a little further in examining the assumption made by some people that there is a linkage between linguistic pluralism or linguistic autonomy and political fragmentation. My reading of the data here is that such a link does not exist. Such a link has not been shown clearly anywhere, to my knowledge.

I think the European situation is an interesting situation. I quoted in the paper a small book or a small monograph by Erick Alak from Finland, who has been doing studies on the linguistic minorities in Europe. He shows in the book, if my reading of the book is right, that there has been an increasing degree of conflict, of tension, but that the modern state has been quite effective in coping with this tension.

There are people here in this room—I am thinking of Francois Nielsen, for example, who has worked on the Flemish in Belgium and who knows the Berlin situation—who might provide information later on this question.

I thought you might have stated more clearly that this fear of balkanization, I think, is really somewhat not only unfounded but it has to be seen for what it is: namely, a form of resistance among the linguistic majority against the extension of minority rights and autonomy.

I guess these were my comments.

Mr. Wonic: Thank you.

Dr. Leo Estrada is with the Census Bureau here in Washington. He is a Staff Assistant to the Deputy Director.

I wonder if we could get a few comments from you, Leo?

STATEMENT OF DR. LEO ESTRADA

Dr. Estrada: I would like to be brief because we can come back to these issues later.

The first thing I would like to mention is that we have to look at the methodology of the SIE and of the measures that are being utilized in a particular case. It is sufficient to say that language usage is a multi-faceted or multi-dimensional issue.

The SIE has, in a sense, limited what Cal has been able to do. We have to remember that language shift or language transfer as defined by Cal consists of two separate variables—that is, a household variable in terms of language spoken when the person was a child compared to present language usage.

There is no direct measure, for example, of whether the household language spoken as a child is the same household language now spoken. One must assume that fact on the basis of the usual language of the respondent. Nor do we have a direct measure of that individual's language when that person was a child. Whether or not Spanish was reported as spoken in their home is not a measure of whether they, themselves, ever spoke that language. It shows only that the context was non-English or English.

We have to maintain a certain amount of caution about the trends until we are able to ascertain the extent of change through the direct measure of language shift and transfer. It is sufficient, though, to say that Cal has not ignored the data's shortcomings. He simply has had to deal with the measures available to him.

There are other methodological issues that I will briefly mention: the lack of controls on the year of immigration, which I think is very important in understanding retention of children as well as their parents for the foreign born population; and as already mentioned by Cal, the measure of language shift occurring from the second, third, and subsequent generations.

On the conceptual basis, I only wish to mention the interaction of monolinguals and bilinguals. Cal has provided us with descriptive information about the differences, for example, between monolinguals and bilinguals within families. What about the interactions between grandparents who may be Spanish bilingual and children who are English monolingual or bilingual?

There are a number of variables about which we need more information: the young versus old in terms of the interaction of the home, in terms of year of immigration, in terms of occupational life cycles. We also need to look at the degree of ethnic isolation and the effect that being involved in the labor force has an impact on language usage.

We should not dismiss too quickly the lack of association between language usage and other factors, economic and political. It may not be proper to compare the Quebec situation to the United States for lack of infrastructure and all the other things previously mentioned. However, linguistic nationalism, which may not be an appropriate term, indicates that there may be still prejudices, discrimination, issues that relate to economic viability. These are based on language and cannot be dismissed altogether.

Mr. Wanic: Thank you.

Dr. López, to whom Cal Veltman has referred numerous times in his paper, is from the University of California at Los Angeles.

We would like to turn the floor over to you for a few minutes.

STATEMENT OF DR. DAVID LÓPEZ

Dr. López: Cal began with some rather indolent or ambiguous remarks about whether or not Spanish is alive and well. He didn't seem to take too clear a stand on that, for good reasons. I will take a stand. I think it very much is alive and well. At the same time, I completely agree with Calvin's findings. They correspond to mine; therefore, they must be correct.

Social linguists usually make distinctions between people in language communities. Sometimes they get a little too involved with individuals. They get so concerned about people's commitment to languages that they forget about behavior itself. On the other hand, some of them are so concerned with language communities that they forget that there are people involved.

In this case, let's just confine ourselves to Spanish or to Chinese. The cases are similar. The people are somewhat different. They are interconnected. They may be related quite closely. The people who are abandoning Spanish, as Calvin uses the term, are not the same people who are maintaining. Spanish is being maintained by immigrants and by those people who through a variety of circumstances find themselves in constant contact with immigrants.

When I say "immigrant," I do not mean only immigrants from south of the border, or from some country other than the United States. I think the key to Texas' and New Mexico's distinctiveness is that immigration from rural to urban areas is equivalent to immigration from a country into the urban United States. When we talk later about regional variations, the question of the rural-urban variation in Texas will be an interesting topic.

Spanish is alive and well. I think it's going to continue to be alive and well simply because of immigration. The Cubans are the ones we see. They are quantitatively much less important; they are going to be a small part of the mass migration of Spanish-speakers into the United States. Nevertheless, the Cubans' immigration is important.

I am a little bothered by the degree to which we are framing a comparison between Canada and the United States. I presume that terms like "abandonment" and "anglicization" sound a little better in French than they do in English. It is sort of a non-problem. It's a straw person who talks about the possibility of Texas becoming another Quebec. New Mexico has had the opportunity to become another Quebec for a long time. New Mexico has not managed it.

At the same time, I strongly feel that Spanish in the United States is not just another one of "those" immigrant languages. The classic model of language shift in the United States involves the language maintenance and modification by the first generation immigrants. Their children certainly learn their immigrant language, their ethnic mother tongue in the home. They do not pass it on to their children, the third generation. This pattern is partially being replaced by Spanish. However, as his data show, it is not being followed to the same degree. The language shift so far seems to be half a generation—perhaps a full generation—later.

Continuing immigration today of Spanish speakers into the United States is not a temporary thing. Certainly it is continuing. We cannot say it is a thing of the past. We can't say that exclusionist immigration laws like those for the Italians in the early twentieth century are going to close out the supply of Spanish speakers. I think we should strongly hold open any kind of conclusive statement about whether or not Spanish is going to follow the Italian pattern.

There are a lot of questions and points that we could bring up about methodology. Since we are making brief remarks now, I would like to introduce the bilingual services topic.

I spent the last couple of years working on a project for bilingual election services, including bilingual voting registration. It is a thankless activity, I can assure you. Time and time again, we came across people who would say, "Well, why don't they learn English?" You have all heard that.

As Calvin mentioned, older people, older immigrants into the United States, tend not to shift languages. Even if they adopt a certain amount of the language of their new country, that doesn't mean that they are really comfortable with and effective users of that language. The analogy for children in school is obvious to this audience.

Just because someone might be using a particular language does not mean that they are really comfortable using it. I have been in countries where I have used the language of that country more than I used my own language. I felt very, very uncomfortable.

The bilingual services are not something that should fail or survive on the basis of whether or not intergenerational language shift is going on. That shift is definitely going on. In the context of continuing immigration and the other patterns of language maintenance, the need for bilingual services is also very much a continuing reality.

Mr. Wenk: Thank you.

Dr. Charles Castonguay is an Associate Professor of Mathematics at the University of Ottawa in Ontario. I wonder if we could have a few minutes of his comments?

STATEMENT OF DR. CHARLES CASTONGUAY

Dr. Castonguay: I think Professor Veltman has done about all that can be done with the SIE data. The type of comparison that he has carried out between younger adults and older adults and the interpretation of non-English mother tongue as lower or higher, and what this means for the future, is something which we have been able to develop in Canada using Canadian data.

It's a working hypothesis based on the data of the 1971 census. We were able to compare retention, for example, of French mother tongue Canadians with retention of French as main home language for older adults and younger adults. We have found in Canada, no matter what the province may be, that the retention of the older generation is better than that of the younger generations. Use of English in the home is becoming more general among the younger adults. Calvin has used that model to investigate the American data and has found the same pattern.

In Canada we have already been able to confirm that these hypothetical rises in rates of anglicization do coincide with the facts. There has been a census in 1976, with restricted information on language matters. The information is not at all as complete as the data of 1971.

However, based on the 1976 data, the data do show that over the period of five years there has been a rise in the rate of anglicization of the different age cohorts. This had been predicted on the basis of the age group analysis of the 1971 data. We have been at it now for at least five or six years in Canada. The model, that idea of comparing the language behavior and language choices of older adults with those of younger adults, seems to be well founded.

My second and last remark concerns the data with which Professor Veltman had to work. It coincides with Dr. Estrada's remark. I find it unfortunate that the usual language question in the SIE survey did not specify the context of usage. I have a little bit of a problem with that because it is quite conceivable that persons may claim English as usual language or principal language, while retaining Spanish, Portuguese, or their mother tongue as principal language in their homes. I think that in future collections of data, the usefulness of the data will be enhanced if the context of usage is specified. Let me give you an example of that.

In the good old days in Quebec, the good old days of the classical colleges, the well-educated person was quadrilingual. He would use English as language at work, and French in the home. He would pray in Latin, and might pursue classical studies in Greek.

Language behavior is intimately related, as many of you know, to personal behavior. Looking at how you behave in different contexts speaking to different people—it is very intimately related with the context of use.

When you have such a general question as the general principal language, I really don't know if one can interpret that as clearly as the Canadian data. The data aimed directly at language use in the home. I would say the Canadian data are very incomplete. We have no data on language of work. We have no data on language of education. All we know is what they use in the home. Nevertheless, language used in the home is very interesting data in that, as we say in French, "On est maitre chez soi." Your home is your castle. I think home language is very important data, very significant data. I have a little bit of a problem with the principal language data collected in the SIE survey.

Thank you.

Mr. Wenk: Thank you.

Dr. Samuel Peng is with WESTAT, a private statistical research organization located in the D.C. area. He has done significant work in educational and career advancement.

STATEMENT OF DR. SAMUEL PENG

Dr. Peng: I would like to echo the concerns for the reliability of the data. Although I believe that Dr. Veltman has done an excellent job in analyzing the data within limits, I think we have to read the findings with some caution. The data we used in the study are primarily self-report data. There was no followup to check the validity. In addition, although the sample size for the Hispanic group is sufficiently

large, the sample size for other minority language groups is too small for reliable detailed analysis.

The second thing I want to mention is that we need to clarify the point that the conceptual frameworks for language and cultural anglicization are not necessarily the same. We can use English as a common language in this country, but at the same time, people can retain their own cultural heritage or their identity.

The third thing I want to mention is that society is very powerful in assimilating different languages and cultures for various reasons. I think people come to this country partly because they want to become part of the society. A lot of people voluntarily abandon their language and take up English as their own language. This is based on their own choice. I have no empirical data to support this, but I have met many people who voluntarily abandoned their language.

Also, we have to look at the society as a whole. I think society pressures people to adopt English to a large extent. The exception occurs when people reside in a special area. In Chinatown, people can do business with people in that immediate community without using English. And they can survive. However, if they want to pull out of that special area and do business with the majority of people, they have to learn English.

Also, the educational system is very conducive to people learning English. When the kids go to school they find that English is the language they use in instruction. It is the language used by their peers. Pretty soon they will find that English is the one to use. They begin to question the value of their mother tongue. Therefore, unless a child has firmly mastered the mother tongue, it is very likely the child will switch languages.

Based on our observations, I think language anglicization is a very natural socio-economic consequence. I don't think it is an issue of whether we can arrest the fast pace of language changes or not. If we want to maintain the minority language, then we have to look at what we can do.

If we agree that it is in the national interest to retain minority language, I believe there are a lot of things we can do, particularly with the educational system. Some people have mentioned that, for example, bilingual education is one mechanism. Also, I think that foreign language programs in the public school—teaching French, Spanish, Italian, Chinese as a second language—can be a very powerful program to retain minority language.

Thank you.

Dr. Wenk: Thank you.

Stuart Beaty is the Director of Policy Analysis at the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages in Canada.

Perhaps you can tell us a little bit about that as well as your comments.

STATEMENT OF MR. STUART BEATY

Mr. Beaty: The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages in Canada exists to oversee the implementation of a Federal act which is called the Official Languages Act. Essentially the act declares the equality and status of English and French in communications with and use within the Federal institutions of Canada. I

think the importance of that to this debate or this discussion is to what extent it is possible through an institutional provision such as the Official Languages Act, or any other kind of language legislation, one can have an impact upon the language maintenance or even language promotion that is possible within the different social situations. That is the context within which I want to make my remarks.

I think Dr. Veltman's paper clearly has two main aspects. One, from my point of view as a non-demographer, is quite strong. I find the analysis of the phenomena of language assimilation of language transfer convincing, although I am not competent to look into all the details of methodology.

At the same time, I think it raises a more important question, if not the question he asks: whether in fact there is reason to fear a little Quebec in Texas. I think that question is once language assimilation is set going or in progress, to what extent that is really totally irreversible within the structure of language change.

I share a little bit Mr. Laporte's preoccupation with the portmanteau use of the term "anglicization," as if it refers to a single phenomenon. I'm not quite sure that it does. In fact, the data presented within the paper seem to me to indicate that anglicization is obviously differential in a number of respects. Within the paper, I think we lack enough information on the institutional dimensions of that problem. That is to say, what is it that does prevent or retard the anglicization of particular language minorities?

In other words, I think the discussion of the data is extremely apt and very, very useful and productive. But in the words of the Jesuit response to Hamlet's "to be or not to be" question, I think "La question est mal posee." Perhaps the question is not well formulated.

The situation of French Quebec can hardly be comparable to the situation of Spanish Texas. For 300 years, French has been a legitimate and legitimized language of the Province of Quebec. So it is not a question of a regional autonomy that has somehow sprung out of the particular dilemma of the twentieth century. Regional autonomy has existed in Quebec for a long time. Even on the basis of the presented data, I do not consider it inconcervable or beyond speculation that some form of regional autonomy could be contemplated within the United States.

I don't think that simply on the basis of the analysis of existing demographic data, which I accept. I say the phenomenon is there. And I have no difficulty regarding that as a true reflection of the degree of assimilation. However, the question that remains with me is: what are the conditions which make it possible to retard that assimilation to the point where some degree of institutional regionalization or regional institutionalization—call it what you will—is conceivable?

I think some of those conditions we have already mentioned this morning. One is simply that the declared legal status of the language has a lot to do with the degree to which it is maintained, considered viable and worthwhile. There are the institutional services. They cover an immense range, as the Canadian Federal government is prepared to testify.

There is the question of a territorial contact. For instance, I regret in some ways that the paper focused so much on Quebec. It disregarded the situation of French in Ontario. There is 30 percent assimilation of the French language in Ontario. Nevertheless, that is still less assimilation than you get in Manitoba, Alberta, or British Columbia. As Dr. Veltman's paper shows, French is clearly well established

in Quebec. I think the 1981 census will show French growing stronger. The territorial contact has an impact on the use and viability of French outside Quebec.

Immigration is obviously another important factor.

One other that is of some concern to us in Canada is the knowledge of the minority language by the majority population. The effect of anglicization would be diminished if more of the English-speaking population had some knowledge of the minority language, and if the minority language group was not compelled by the simple socio-economic logic of life to use the predominant language.

While I congratulate Dr. Veltman on his paper and I don't want to seem to diminish his policy suggestion, I'm a little concerned that the paper does not really address the question that it seems to be addressing. Is there any conceivable interest of possibility in a regional autonomy based on the Spanish language in the United States?

Thank you very much.

Mr. Wenk: Thank you.

Dr. René Cárdenas is President and Executive Director of Bilingual Children's T.V., involved both in educational research and also well known for the production of "Villa Alegre," which I understand is now carried in 8 million homes.

We would appreciate your comments.

STATEMENT OF DR. RENÉ CÁRDENAS

Dr. Cárdenas: I have problems with this study, very serious problems. I have problems with Cal's continuous statement that "I'm milking the data." I recognize it's a rather innocuous remark, but this study, I believe, has very harsh ramifications. I believe, in spite of what is said today, that Cal is going to publish this report. Therefore, I would like to set up a series of caveats which I feel we should consider.

There is no question in my mind that linguistic transfer is occurring at a very rapid rate. I just came back from a trip throughout the South. To set up mechanisms to retard the transfer would be certainly antagonistic to what some people consider the American process. We are to assimilate and we are to be stamped into little homogeneous ingots called Americans. I think that is the way the country is going.

I feel the study's premise in the first place was wrong. I think it compared apples and oranges. The Quebec situation and the American situation is a faulty premise.

Quebec is institutionalized. It's a mother's womb. The French Canadian lives in a very close-knit society. The Hispanics metastasized throughout the whole culture. We do have places like Miami and Texas and Southern California where there are a lot of us, but we do not have the institutional support, the legislative support, that exists in Quebec. To make a comparison of those situations is faulty research.

The purpose of research, I think, is to gather data and massage these data to create a body of knowledge that can be used effectively, for whatever purpose. I think cross research always has limitations. Where are the limitations of the study? How can we validate the data? Since most of the data flowed out of the SIE study, I am wondering what validation process occurred there. What is the standard of

errors? We don't know what that is. What confidence or reliability do we put into the data and findings? What are the implications of a study such as this, both social and political?

We know that in this country, we have two opposite poles. At the aloha level we have those people who are antagonistic to bilingual education and who speak a language other than American. At the other level we have us sinecurists who somehow want to perpetuate our language and our lifestyle.

If not effectively corrected in midstream or at least factored for certain anomalies and phenomena, I think that this study could create a lot of disturbance.

I am concerned that the SIE data did not have an attitudinal overlay. The psychic orientation of the Spanish speaker was not used as a factor for cultural behaviorism. Those who are transferring and those who are speaking English in their houses did not comment on whether or not they had lost Hispanic ability. We should have thought about this factor.

In a simple review of the project, I have problems with the choice of variables. I have problems with the terminology and definitions used. I have problems with the non-sampling error descriptions.

Mr. Wenk: So there is quite an area for discussion.

Dr. Ernest Mazzone is Director of the Bilingual Education Bureau of Massachusetts.

Would you like to make some concluding remarks?

STATEMENT OF DR. ERNEST MAZZONE

Dr. Mazzone: As I listened to various members of the panel, I had to say to myself that I concurred, I concurred and I concurred on a number of counts.

First of all, in terms of the methodology, I concur with Dr. Cárdenas that the study methodology is questionable. I am also concerned particularly from a practitioner's point of view with the implications, and especially the educational implications.

I want to congratulate, also, Dr. Veltman for the fine work in terms of the intensity and the effort that he has put into the study, notwithstanding the questions that we have to raise about the validity of the data.

I think it is a start. For the first time we are beginning to address this question in America much more seriously. I have trouble even using the term "anglicization." I have trouble pronouncing it because it is not common to the American vocabulary used when we are talking about this issue. We have been using terms such as "melting pot" and "assimilation," which I think implies, when we use that term, language shift, among other things.

The other thing which I think is left out in the study is the reference to the culture. When we look at language, we have to think also in terms of not only the skills of speaking, reading, and writing, but also that thing to which it has to attach itself, the value systems.

That is very important in terms of practical policy because in this country we have legislation that deals with the idea of shift. The Federal bilingual educational legislation is one. In my own state, Massachusetts, we have a state law which talks

to the transitional bilingual education. Transitional implies a shift. The goal is to wean children away from the language that they bring to school and, as quickly as possible, to have the children acquire the necessary English language skills to function in the school setting.

I want to address the issue of language and culture, as well as ethnicity as it relates to this and its value systems.

I don't believe that the study adds very much knowledge. It is self-evident that this country has been taking those youngsters that have come to the schools with a language other than English and has succeeded in snuffing out their language.

For the practical implications of this question of language shift, we have to look at parents. Parents of minority children often use English to communicate with their children in the home. They do that because they very often feel that the quick and speedy acquisition of English will prevent confusion on the part of their children. This is reinforced by the teachers who in turn encourage the parents to use English with their children at home.

We see the cultivation of the first language as undermining the children. This is the view.

Because of the misconceptions regarding the central role of language in the educational development of children, I think we have an obligation in the research to address those kinds of issues. Recent research on the use of the first language as a medium of instruction not only does not have a negative effect on child development, but has a positive effect. I don't have to cite the studies. I think most of us know these.

How do some of these misconceptions arise? Why? It was felt that children couldn't learn until the school blotted out bilingualism, however badly it might have been developed. So teachers spent a lot of time doing that. It is a small wonder that the research at the turn of the century showed that the children did very poorly in school. Children were forced to shed one culture and a language, in order to belong to the majority culture and language. In essence, not only did the child lose what he had, but he did not gain anything. In addition, he had some difficulties identifying with either language or culture. Therefore, instead of considering the possibility that the schools were responsible, once again the illness was put on the children for that bilingualism.

From recent research, the facts show that programs promoting the first language in the school (other than English) show that children will, indeed, do better. Poor academic performance in the past was not a result of the children's bilingualism.

In closing, I think it is very important to emphasize the significance of the first language other than English in the home. The schools have a responsibility to encourage the use of that first language as far as parents are concerned. It seems to me that the key, or the most crucial piece is the way parents communicate with their children. If they are not communicating with them in their original language and if they are shifting into English, it is no small wonder that the rate of anglicization is increasing.

Thank you.

Mr. Wenk: Thank you.

INTRODUCTION OF DISCUSSANTS

Mr. Wenk: We would like to turn the discussion now to the panel as a whole. There were a limited number of broad areas that may very well be the focal points of the panel for the discussion.

There are some very basic questions of methodology and data quality. Specifically, what methodology and data quality limitations need to be attached to the discussion?

There are certainly some questions of the inferences made from the data and possible policy implications. Should the discussion get into that area, I think it might be a good idea for the people to make explicit what are the objectives and goals of presumed policy options, so that we all are starting from the same basis of understanding.

Of course, I presume there will be some discussion on needs for further data collection and analyses.

I see those as the major headings of discussion this morning highlighted.

Before we get into the panel discussion, I think it might be a good idea to give Cal Veltman a couple of minutes. He has listened to a lot of comments about his paper. He might want to make a few brief observations.

Dr. Veltman: Thank you.

First of all, I would like to apologize for using a French term to describe the process that we are describing. On the one hand, I conducted my initial research in this area in French itself. Otherwise, I would not have adopted a French term for it. I began thinking about language shift in French. The only appropriate English term for it that I can think of is "becoming English speaking." The problem is that it is so bloody awkward. Every time you are going to write a phrase, you say the process of "becoming English speaking." I finally went ahead and I borrowed this French term.

Dr. Castonguay: It is in Webster's dictionary.

Dr. Veltman: That is why I used it. I thought it was better than anglification, which you sometimes hear. I have difficulty with that. It doesn't sound right to me.

Secondly, I'm glad to hear that a number of people here recognize that comparing Quebec and any place else is like comparing apples and oranges. To get people to understand this is one of the paper's points.

Thirdly, I would like to clarify the term melting pot which has been rather loosely used this morning. The melting pot myth is that we all merge together, we all mutually profit from the cultural and linguistic experiences of the other, and we emerge with one new American language, which would not in this case be English. The appropriate model for the United States is not a melting pot; it's the model for Anglo conformity. As René put it so well, we are all being forced into the Anglo-conformist mode or the ideal Americanization. The American experience does not want to take anything from any of its minority cultures. Minorities must get as rapidly as possible into the mold. This is the model of Anglo conformity. It is not a model of melting.

Fourth, I haven't neglected the relationship between language and economy. I am working on some reports for NCES on this particular issue. It just didn't seem to

me necessary to bring that into this paper which addressed more limited sorts of goals.

My fifth point concerns questions of definition. Charles brought up the home context. I think that is a good and legitimate question. The SIE mother tongue question is more inclusive than we would like. Mother tongue is defined by: What was the first language you learned to speak when you were a kid? The SIE question is a little bit larger than that. It may well be that a legitimate answer to the mother tongue question as posed in the SIE would be Spanish. Although Spanish was the language most often spoken in the home when the person was a child, the child did in fact have English as a mother tongue when narrowly defined. I have no problem with that.

I still don't think there is any way in the world to take a 95 percent anglicization rate, to alter the questions slightly to what we think is theoretically better, and to bring the percentage down to 5 percent. I agree in theory. However, we are not going to bring 95 percent anglicization down to nothing by altering the definition a little bit. These questions are beginning to tap basic linguistic processes.

With respect to self-reported information, I'm in favor of any further research to validate the data. The Canadian census of 1971, which I used for my Ontario and Quebec data, was also self-reported. It was self-reported by mail questionnaire, which I suppose gives you even more latitude to fool around with the definitions. The SIE was done with an interviewer.

I'm not entirely comfortable with the idea that we could reverse the data by actually going out and collecting information. It seems to me that we are dealing with a process which has characterized and is characterizing American society. We can chicane about the magnitude of the measures, whether it is really 30 percent or 40 percent or 50 percent. We can debate it a little bit. However, when it starts being 95 percent, it seems to me that the margin of error is relatively low.

Thank you.

Mr. Wenk: Thank you.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA QUALITY

Among the panelists, let us get some interchange on the questions of methodology, data quality, and the resulting statements of limitation that might be attached to the process and the interpretation.

Leo, would you like to comment? That seemed to be your point of concern.

Dr. Estrada: I don't want to go into a lot of detail. I think anyone who has worked with CPS data knows there are some limitations to the methodology used by the Census Bureau in the collection of the information. To be involved in the CPS you must, of course, be part of the sampling frame from the previous census, 1970.

More important perhaps is the fact that some stability is necessary in residence since the sampling relies heavily upon the following process: selecting households, maintaining them in a sample for four months, removing them from the sample for eight months, and including them in the sample for four more months. Obviously, if there are some populations that may be important in the study of language usage which could be omitted from the sample such as migratory workers.

It is, as Cal said, perhaps the best sample we have ever had for the Hispanic population in the United States. We cannot overlook this, especially to the extent that it allows us, as he did, to extract language groups. In most samples these groups would be so small that the results would be totally unreliable. In this case the estimates have some sampling errors that are attached. While the numbers may not be precise, I would agree with Cal that trends are something that we have to take into account.

Another fact to emphasize is the cross-sectional nature of the SIE. We are not looking at the language shift of a person at two points in time. We are looking at language shift as assumed on the basis of one group of people, in different age groups, at the same point in time. The distinction is one which demographers make between cohort analyses and age specific analyses. You get slightly different results, the direction of which at this point we don't know.

It leads us to the obvious conclusion that we have to move from this cross-sectional study to an age-cohort longitudinal study as the next step in confirming the trends. There is no reason to doubt that we will not confirm these trends. It has to be done in order to understand the differences over time for the same individuals rather than for age groups within one specific time period.

As someone referred to the SIE, it is a snapshot. We capture one point in time. However, this issue requires looking at it over a period of time.

The year of immigration is a crucial variable to consider among the foreign born population. In the interpretation of the tables that compare the various ethnic groups, there has to be some realization given that these groups have very significant migration histories to the United States. Some are more recent than others. Others have been here for many years.

Ethnic identity as measured by the SIE refers to any generation at any point in time. In addition one can determine foreign born (country of birth) data. In his analysis, Cal separates them out. I think that is a very appropriate way to treat it.

However, for the foreign born data in particular, I think the year of immigration is crucial. It gives us information regarding some of the differences between children and parents or usual language of the respondent and the home context. Also it would indicate not only their country of birth, but also, the amount of time spent in the United States. Length of residence and other related aspects are obviously important. These, as I said, are not analyzed in this particular study.

Cal has not dealt in this particular case with children. I think he probably made a good decision. Methodologically it would be very difficult to interpret those data. In most cases, the language reported for those children is determined by the parents—that is, by proxy. The validity or reliability of that would be very difficult to deal with, I think. By leaving it out, it also overemphasizes (perhaps in total distribution) that part of the population which is not ethnically enclosed.

For example, children can become ethnically enclosed in a home if their grandparents speak only Spanish. Someone who is 15 or 16 years old and in school will not be ethnically enclosed. Certainly most people involved in the labor force are not ethnically enclosed. Therefore, if occupation and work life is related to language usage, this particular sample has a bias toward that group least likely to be ethnically enclosed.

Several people have been concerned with the validity of the self-reported

language item. In two weeks or so NCES is going to sponsor a hothouse study in the Northeast. The Census Bureau is going to interview followup samples of individuals who have reported non-English language usage. We are going back into a followup sampling of those homes to give them a paper-pencil language test. We want to find out what the association is between the reporting that people make of their proficiency and of their language usage with what we can tell from this separate analysis, an independent look at it.

I expect we are going to find quite a bit of variability. I expect that because the way people judge how well they speak a non-English language compared to English differs. For example, many parents feel that by being in school, their children speak much better than they do Spanish. By another measure, the teacher's measure of that child's ability in English, they might be measured as having very low proficiency. Therefore, the individual making the judgment obviously has an effect.

In this case it does not interfere with the data, but I think the validity of this item is very, very important. The validity impacts amount of credibility or veracity or confidence that we can give to these results in terms of preciseness.

Mr. Wenk: Thank you.

I think it is good that you pointed out that in the work that you presented, Dr. Veltman, there was little said about the degree of proficiency of language utilization. That should be borne in mind in interpreting these data.

Dr. Cárdenas: I would like to bring up a point. I think we all agree that we are experiencing a high level of language transfer at that age group. I think we all agree that there is some evidence that the language lifestyle, the Hispanic lifestyle, is on the decay.

I am an anthropologist and have been involved in these kinds of studies for quite some time. I'm also involved in mass media. I know in this country you have a proliferation of Hispanic radio stations, all kinds of radio stations. We have two emerging television networks that are operating throughout the Southwest in heavy Hispanic areas.

We have now a fantastic awareness amongst major corporations. They are now beginning to develop their advertising brochures, the whole marketing ventures, in the Hispanic language.

There seems to be a proliferation of Hispanic-type organizations throughout the country whose sole effort is to perpetuate the dignity of the Spanish language and the Spanish lifestyle.

I would like to know what your sources are, Dr. López, in stating that the only way the Hispanic language is going to be maintained is through continued immigration. There seems to be evidence that many of us who have some faulty ability in the English language do continue to speak Spanish and promote that phenomenon in our own culture and in our own homes.

I think that the natural language of most Hispanics is shifting and reversing gears. You are speaking English, then all of a sudden you start talking Spanish. I really don't see that the Spanish is decaying. I think, if anything, there is a fantastic awareness on a growth curve.

I am wondering why NCES is sponsoring research that could create a lot of hostile activity out in the community. With all due respect to you, Dr. Veltman, I feel that unless we warn, unless we recognize that this study has very serious

limitations, very serious levels of reliability, confidence and validation of data, I just don't see that there is language decay. There is language transfer. Language transfer does not imply that we don't maintain our very limited or exaggerated ability in the Spanish language.

Mr. Wenk: There are several questions. Perhaps Dr. López would like to respond to those.

Dr. López: Let me respond. I will let Cal worry about his questions.

As to the first part, remember that I opened my remarks by saying that I thought that Spanish was alive and well. This is not a question of what I would like to be true; this is what I find, as Cal finds what he finds. The vitality of Spanish—or, for that matter, the vitality of Chinese or the lack of vitality of Japanese—is very, very highly tied up with continuing immigration. I don't mean that it's just the immigrants who are speaking the non-English language.

As I mentioned, there are exceptions, primarily in northern New Mexico and southern Texas. These are areas where Spanish is transmitted from generation to generation. However, no matter how the questions are formulated, I'm afraid, the broad quantitative picture is that the third generation does not use Spanish very much. The third generation are themselves the children of people born in the United States. Especially in the urban United States, these people may very well be very Latino in some way. To the extent that they are using Spanish, they have or their parents have made a very considerable effort to maintain the language.

However, I'm bothered by the implication in Dr. Cárdenas' statement about the data's potential of being misinterpreted. Your implication is that we should be very, very careful before we even discuss it openly. Unless we do discuss these data openly, ultimately any kind of negative results from these data could be much, much worse.

Dr. Cárdenas: I agree we should discuss it. When I made my opening statement I mentioned that Cal would probably publish this regardless of what we say or feel about it. I would like to have broad clarifications as to some of the weaknesses and some of the strengths of the study. We obviously have to talk about it.

Mr. Wenk: Of course, one of the reasons we are all here today is to have some part of that open discussion.

As to why NCES did the study in the first place, as you know, the SIE was conducted not for these purposes originally. Dr. Veltman spotted an opportunity to mine the data that others had not seen. These are the results.

Of course, there will be disagreement among people about interpretation and so forth. We think that is all healthy and contributes to a positive dialogue. We hope that is the spirit of the meeting today.

Mr. Laporte: I think there is an important point here. I think everybody will accept that there is a language shift process, but I am a bit bothered by the use of a label like "anglicization" to denote this language shift process. We don't know if the consequence of language shift is anglicization or something else.

My impression is that you think that using the word tends to have the unfortunate consequence of infusing a meaning to a problem which the process may not have. It would be a question for further research to examine: what is the cultural significance of this process? What is the social significance of the process? With what is it associated?

Anglicization may be one of its consequences, but I think it is dangerous to name it anglicization. It is dangerous to name it anglicization in the United States. And it is dangerous to name it anglicization in Canada. There is language shift taking place in Canada. There is language shift taking place in Quebec, whether it is language shift from English to French or from French to English. However, to call them anglicization and francization is a kind of misplacement of what might be one of its possible consequences. We don't really know that to be true.

What we know is that there is a shift. There is a language shift, a shift in one direction. However, whether it is called anglicization or Anglo-conformity, I would very much question that shifting from one language to the other means that you are undergoing a process of Anglo-conformity either culturally or personally.

It is dangerous to confuse the meaning of a process with its consequence.

Mr. Wenk: I have the problem of getting caught up in shorthand labels. I believe we might not have any objection to saying that we are looking at it as just language shift. No matter what you label it, there are questions of effect and the relationship between language and culture. Those are things that may be explored in greater detail this afternoon.

I guess my point really is that you have used a rather precisely defined term for language shift. Although the shorthand version may be subject to some degree of misinterpretation, we should be very clear about the subject matter you chose, which is independent of the label that you chose.

Dr. Castonguay: I would like to defend Professor Veltman's use of that label. He is expounding about anglicization in linguistic assimilation, not cultural assimilation. These are two different things.

He is not saying that language and culture are to be identified. I don't think anybody could say such things, because there are many examples of cultures that have been retained after a language has disappeared.

Anglicization is "making English" if you look up your Webster, "to make English." It could be to make English in language. This is the context in which Professor Veltman is using the term.

It is a very well-taken term, I believe. Because if you get out of the strictly United States provincial attitude, you will realize that in French Canada there are such things as language transfer to French. That's a big mouthful, so we talk of francization. In Peru you might speak of hispanicization of the Quechua-speaking minority in Peru. Those words are very well taken. They are precise.

I think there is no more objection to using the term than there should be. You have been using it also in the context where you are discussing cultural assimilation. As long as the context of discussion is clear and we all understand what we mean by the term, we are precise.

Speaking of objections to using different types of terms, Dr. Mazzone mentioned the word "America" to describe what Canadians feel to be North America. You often use the word America as meaning the United States. This is usurping a very precise geographical term. Mexicans and Canadians alike don't like it. We are starting to call you "United Stations."

Perhaps with the notion of cultural assimilation, you may wish provincially to call it "Americanization." It has connotations of cultural assimilation with the melting pot perspective in view, aside from anglicization.

I like the word "anglicization." I'm going to continue to use it. I hope that in communications among yourselves you will think of the international community which is looking at what is going on in the United States. Perhaps we should use the same language to describe the same phenomenon.

A methodological remark is that the data which Professor Veltman has been using concerning, for example, the principal language spoken, usual language spoken, should be viewed at the same time as the data on what he calls monolingualism. There was a question also on second language often spoken.

I think it could be safe to say that the missing data on language spoken in the home would fit somewhere between the two curves which often occur in his paper's graphics. The rate of anglicization in the home context lies somewhere between the rate of bilingual anglicization with retention of the mother tongue as an often-spoken second language and the monolingual form of anglicization where there is no retention of the mother tongue as an often-spoken second language.

You have at least a maximum and a minimum estimate of what is going on in the home. Presuming that if people use their mother tongues as main language in the home, they would say that they use it often as a second language if not as a first principal language.

It has been brought up quite often that these data are cross-sectional and a snapshot of reality. I would like to re-emphasize once again the following fact. If you agree with the general intuition that language shift in the home environment is a completed thing by the age of 30 or 35, it is going to be extremely rare that somebody at the age of 45 is going to change his language behavior in the home environment.

I agree with Professor Veltman's utilization of this cross-sectional snapshot data to: go back into the past; look at the older adults and their rates of anglicization; compare those rates of anglicization to the younger adults; use that basis for putting an intergenerational perspective on language shift in the United States; and say that if the trends continue, the anglicization will be even stronger in the future.

As I have said, the comparison of the Canadian 1976 data with the 1971 data does confirm the validity of that intergenerational perspective with the snapshot. As long as you keep in mind that language transfer is something which has gone its due course by the approximate ages of 30 or 35, you cannot be much more precise.

Another point I would like to address, if I may, is the efficiency of institutions or institutional change in promoting the retention of a minority language.

Monsieur Laporte mentioned that schools, in his opinion, were relatively inefficient in preserving minority languages. A good example in support of that statement would be the Province of Ontario. French is rather poorly maintained or retained among the French mother tongue population in the province of Ontario. In the large majority of cases, French language schooling, in French, in almost all subjects has been in practice since 1917 or 1925.

Mr. Laporte: Yes.

Mr. Beaty: For only 10 years.

Dr. Castonguay: I was born in 1940. I was educated up to the high school level, and even at university level, largely in French. Francization is a well-taken term. There do exist people who are francized.

Mr. Beaty: It has been legally recognized and stimulated in the last 12 years.

Dr. Castonguay: Perhaps so, but as you point out in your written comments on page 2, "where French has survived as a minority language not only despite the lack of legitimization." What I am trying to say is that making a minority language legitimate may not have to do with minority language retention. It is a matter of identification. It is a matter, perhaps, of a sense of nationhood.

I want to point out that in Ontario it is more that sense of feeling part of what used to be called the French-Canadian nation but which is now fragmented into Acadians, Quebecois, and the others of the linguistic diaspora. It is that sense of identification of national pride or mutual recognition of identity that has been keeping together the French fact in Canada and not so much language legislation or institutional change.

In that context I would like to point out for the record that what Mr. Beaty has said, has put down in print here, is, as far as I know, false. He has not made it an oral point, probably with very good reason and very good cause.

He mentions in his written comment, which I have before me, "The very fact that minority language assimilation can be controlled, as witnessed in Canadian instances outside Quebec, leaves legitimate room for speculation as to where this leads and what kind of policy decisions we want to make." He contradicts himself in the previous paragraph when he says that in Ontario and New Brunswick legitimization of the French language had nothing to do with language retention. It was retained independently of that for cultural values—for reasons of what we call values.

Furthermore, I have no knowledge—and I do not think there are any hard facts—to show that minority language assimilation in Canada has been controlled by what Mr. Beaty says "in instances outside Quebec." It is true that the Federal government has taken different measures during the last 10 years. The government has encouraged certain provincial governments, in particular, to take measures to legitimize the French language as a minority language. However, the 1976 census compared to the 1971 data has shown that all of the French language minorities outside of Quebec have declined not only in the percentage of the total population of the provinces, but even in absolute numbers. I don't know on what that statement is based. I wanted to go on record as saying that it does not coincide with the facts. All the provinces decreased except British Columbia and Acadia. British Columbia's climate is rather appealing to Quebecer. Acadia has not precisely a phenomenon of nationhood for national identification among the Acadian minority. It is not just institutional completeness which is keeping the Acadian minority together outside of Quebec. This is the first time in the history of the Canadian censuses that there has been a decline in absolute numbers in the French-speaking minorities outside of Quebec.

Mr. Wenk: I would like to give Mr. Beaty a chance to reply to that, and then I think David López had some comments.

Mr. Beaty: I don't think you want to dwell unduly on the Canadian context when you are here primarily to discuss a question that relates to language minorities in the United States. However, I would like to say that I don't consider, either in my oral statement or in my written statement, that there is anything inconsistent about recognizing two things.

One, there is a high level of assimilation of French-speaking Canadians in

Ontario and, even to a degree, in New Brunswick. And two, the idea that language assimilation can be controlled. I think it is clear from Dr. Veltman's paper that when comparisons are made between the degree of assimilation, the rate of assimilation, the extent of assimilation in the United States and the extent of assimilation, which I agree is there, in Ontario that you have to look at the factors that were involved in making the difference.

I think at some point—and my memory may be faulty on this—that Dr. Veltman relates the Ontario situation to the typical United States situation as a difference of 1 in 10 in certain respects. I am interested not in stating in any way categorically that institutions prevent language shift. They certainly do not. There have to be a number of factors involved even in the degree of language retention.

What I am concerned about is: what are those conditions; what are those factors; and to what extent in the United States situation—because of your Constitution, because of the environment, and because of hostile reactions to the melting pot tradition—to what extent do you want to try to maintain language?

Dr. Veltman mentioned rather briefly at the end of his oral statement one reason why one might be interested in maintaining certain minority languages in the United States. The President's report on foreign or second language teaching has indicated that the United States would have a need for some of the languages other than English.

What I am saying—and I think I am in agreement with my colleague, Dr. Castonguay, on this—is that the motivation is important. The reason why one wants to maintain a language has a lot to do with the extent to which that language is maintained.

It don't feel there is anything contradictory in my statement. I am not holding out Canada as an example where institutions alone have been able to make the difference between success and failure. That is certainly not the case.

Dr. López: It's nice to know that there's a little disagreement north of whatever that border is.

More importantly, I think this exchange brings up the question of the consequences of any kind of government programs, this is a fascinating topic. However, I think probably we should postpone that for the moment.

I just want to say one or two more words about the methodology and relationship between methodology and the validity of the results.

I agree that using the age cohorts is one possible way of getting us into what has been going on. There is another way of doing it that I have tried: to use first, second, and third generation people at one time and use cohort analysis to pretend that they were an historical series of generations.

In any of these procedures I think it is very important—and here is where substance intrudes on method—it is very important that we not start thinking about generation in terms of let's say we're third generation; therefore, our parents were second; therefore, our grandma's were first; and it's all back there in the past.

Once again, the vitality of Spanish is, if not totally dependent, intimately linked with the continuing immigration. Those of you who know anything about the political economy of the Third World (especially Mexico) know that population pressures are increasing, not decreasing. Those of you who are a little sophisticated know that economic development in Mexico will produce fewer jobs for Mexicans, not more jobs.

On the validity of the data: This is by far the best data source we have, and Calvin's analysis is by far the most sophisticated. We do have previous data at the national level from 1969, 1970, and 1975. We will have partial data from 1979. The data are partial in the sense that the information will be complete for 1979 and 1980 very soon. We also have regional surveys from various parts of California, Texas, and New York City. These are usually urban places admittedly.

The results of all of these studies fundamentally do conform (plus or minus 10 percent) to the findings which Calvin has made.

I am bothered by people who continue to worry about the validity of language questions. I am a sociologist. I deal with language but a number of other variables as well. When I got into this business of looking at language seriously, I decided that Joshua Fishman's statements may be true in some cases about the possible stigma, the shame, of speaking a language other than English. I can think of compensating mechanisms as well. I am not at all convinced that our data about language are worse than our data about most other relevant social phenomena. In fact, I happen to think it is better. You ask somebody, "Who do you want for President?" My God, it depends on whether or not you have constipation or diarrhea that day.

I have never experienced this stigma of Spanish per se. I am aware of the ethnic statement most definitely. The use of Spanish per se, in particular the reporting of it, I am not convinced is that massive a factor.

I can assure you I can think of a lot of other problems with the data. For example, consider the country of birth information. There is good reason to believe that a lot of people who say they were born in the United States were not born in the United States. I leave to you the analytical task of thinking about the consequences of that possibility for the analysis of language shift.

The point is that this study is not an ideal study. Certainly, the questions are probably not ideal, but we are not getting better questions in 1979 and 1980. We have one good question on the census in 1980. However, as a consequence of getting one good question, we have given up all the other information and all the sources of information we need to have about language. I think the language data from here on are going to be much worse. I, for one, am going to have a lot of trouble interpreting what the 1980 census presumably is going to tell us.

Mr. Wenk: Perhaps we can move on from some questions of methodology into some other questions of interpretation.

Mr. Laporte: The study of linguistic behavior is very tricky.

For instance, in Quebec we know that self-reporting on the use of French by Francophone in industry is somewhat higher than what they are using in fact. People are not aware of the extent to which they use a language. They are not as aware as we presume they are.

In Quebec, where the ambience is one where people would easily presume that they are working in French and where this ambience is reinforced by social consensus, awareness of using English in work settings is not so good. The indicator of language use, self-reporting, is not predictive of what people are actually doing.

Therefore, in the United States where you have the situation of strong English dominance, it is not only a question of people being stigmatized or people being

afraid of declaring themselves, but it is also the question of how aware they are of using the language.

This does not throw out all the data that you can have on the extent of language shift, but there are limitations to the use of survey self-reporting type of data for the study of language shift itself.

Another point is whether Calvin Veltman is or is not studying linguistic assimilation. These are not data on what is going on in the language. These are just data on what is going on in use patterns. Linguistic assimilation is a completely different thing.

A question which you can raise is: What is happening to English in the United States as a consequence of these broad movements of shift? This is a linguistic question.

I know of one good study of linguistic assimilation. It was done in New York on Puerto Ricans. This was a study of what is happening to a language when it is going out. Here you have what is happening when people are beginning to shift from one pattern of use to the other.

What are the linguistic consequences of that? What are the cultural consequences of that? What are the consequences of that on English itself, the dominant language? What are the personal consequences of that? We don't know.

Therefore, we have to be very careful about labels and the assumptions about the extent to which the trend is real. It will not vary from 95 percent to 5 percent. What is variation? Also, what are the consequences of this trend?

Dr. Veltman: I don't think anybody can answer all the questions that my distinguished colleague from Quebec has asked. Regardless of what you want to call it here, I am talking about people who move from one mother tongue to another in usual language.

As Dr. López indicated, language data are at least as good as most other data. There were two studies done by the Census which support this point.

One was the reinterview study of the 1970 census. It showed that demographic variables were the best. These variables have what we call reliability. The people would give the same answers twice. One of the best variables was sex. There was only 1 percent error in reporting sex from time one to time two. Another was race. I think, 2 percent errors were made from time one to time two. I can't remember who made the most errors, blacks or whites. That was pretty stable. Age is another one of the most stable variables. There you get something like 3, 4, or 5 percent errors. The next one was language. Although a pretty poor 1970 census question, the studies turned up relatively high reliability in terms of language.

Johnson, from the U.S. Census Bureau, carried out a study of ethnicity comparing data from 1970, 1971, and 1972. If I remember right, he examined declarations of ethnic origin. The errors were enormous. There were a couple of exceptions. People of Spanish ancestry seemed to be able to declare that they were Spanish ancestry. What is so unusual about that? A lot of them spoke Spanish. It shouldn't be too difficult to understand that they were aware of their Spanish ancestry. The same thing seemed to be true for Italians. But when you started getting into German, Irish, and Polish, there were 33 percent error declarations from one year to the next. They may declare themselves Polish this year and Irish the next.

Dr. López brought up an excellent point. Language is one of the best sociological variables we have, even though we may not be able always to say exactly what it means when we get it. It is a much more reliable variable than are most of the other social indicators that we use.

Mr. Wenk: I guess we all concur that some types of decision making and commentary are aided by data, even if they are gathered by imperfect instruments, relatively or absolutely.

LANGUAGE AS CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Is there anybody who would like to pick up on some of the inferences and implications of the data?

Mr. Laporte: I would like to go back to this notion of institutional structure. You see, you can look at language as a kind of capital. From this point of view, the extent of institutionalization of the community is very important. Language is not only cultural capital, but also social capital. Social capital means the extent to which you can use the knowledge of a language in a given institutional and social network. If you extend the institutional network of the linguistic community, you are creating a market for a language. School is not a sufficient market in itself.

The remark that Dr. Mazzone made on parents is very interesting in this respect. The parents are wondering about the rate of return of this language capital which their children are acquiring in school as compared to investment in other things than language learning.

The need to extend the institutional structure of the community beyond a school provision would seem to be very important if you wish to create the motivation and the conditions for this language to be reproduced. As in Canada, this may lead to official recognition of language, the provision of language services, and so forth.

On that score, I am not surprised that you observe the kind of thing that you observe in the language scene in the United States. Given the very low development of a market where you can use this capital with some advantage. Unless this market is created through institutional expansion, why should you acquire the capital? Once you have acquired it, what do you do with it?

In Quebec, the value of French as a linguistic capital has increased over the years. You can use it now as a mobility ticket. You are not isolated in private enterprise as much as you were before if you are French speaking. The people who are becoming aware of that are not the francophones. They are the anglophones. The anglophones became aware of the capital value of this skill during the 20 year expansion of the institutional network which uses linguistic capital.

To conclude, perhaps I am not talking about what you can do constitutionally. If you want to face the issue of language pluralism in the United States, you have to face it squarely or not face it at all. I don't think that Calvin Veltman's paper forces you to face it as squarely as it should.

Decisionmakers must be aware of what they are getting into when they are getting into something. When you are getting into language maintenance, you are getting into something that is quite a commitment in terms of the institutional

experimentation and development. You will have to make the commitment if you do not wish to create as much frustration as there was frustration to start.

Dr. Castonguay: That is a very utilitarian perspective on the different types of motivation you could have for language maintenance. Certainly if you want a minority language to be retained to an interesting degree, you have to make it pay off literally in dollar signs, American or Canadian.

The pay off has begun in Quebec on the basis of another source of motivation described in terms of cultural values, in terms of nationhood, in terms of national pride, and in terms of a sense of history. As Mr. Laporte says, if you want to address the question, meet it squarely. We should also take the second dimension into account.

In Ottawa, the motivation in terms of the dollar sign has been in the Federal civil service for the last 10 years. It has become so lucrative to become bilingual that there is a problem in the French schools in the Ottawa area. French has no status comparable to English in Ontario except for the monetary rewards in the Ottawa area. The English are sending their children to such an extent to the French schools that the French minority is becoming worried about the anglicization of the school environment. So many English may swamp the French and turn the language of play and communication in the school yard and in the school halls into English. The development of language maintenance, and even development of language competency, is paying off in terms of the dollar sign.

Can that sort of thing be attained in the United States? The question is one can of worms. In Canada there have been historical reasons, reasons of nationhood, and other reasons for recognizing French as a language of equal status to English. What languages are you going to choose? Without creating considerable social turmoil what languages will you be able to choose as viable languages for certain areas or regions? If you choose one, two, or three languages, why not choose four, five, or more?

What types of motivations in terms of cultural or spiritual value or dollar signs are you going to be able to achieve, to develop, and to maintain without creating a sense of discrimination, inequality, and frustration. If you look at minority language retention in this perspective, the basis of the question would be addressed.

Calvin, of course, could not look at that sort of thing with the type of data. What he has done is shown that the minority languages are all on the skids.

What can be done about it in terms of: institutional change; motivation transformation; the perception of languages; the valorization, as we would say in French, the assignment or attribution of values to knowing a minority language? I think that is the real basis of what you should be coming to grips with if you are really serious about it.

Mr. Wenk: Thank you.

I would like to have more comments from Leo and from Sam before we engage in our activities this afternoon.

Dr. Estrada: I think there is still debate about the existence of the inevitable or irreversible flow toward anglicization. If I assume that anglicization is the trend or the nature of linguistic shift, then I guess it puts me in a position as an advocate for cultural movements and cultural values. I think this is a common perspective held by many minority groups in the United States. Then you have to begin to think

about how culture—Hispanicness or any other ethnic type—is maintained regardless of language or omitting language as part of the core.

I can think of two opposite reactions. The first is that culture does not have to be so closely related to language. Accepting the trend and accepting the inevitability of the situation doesn't matter. As such, one can begin to accept bilingual educational programs as transitional. The programs go along with the flow of the inevitable.

On the other hand, I can see the reaction that it is not good. It is not fine to observe what we see. If you believe that language is at the core, or very close to it, or ethnic identity is related to group consciousness and is related to some extent to political action or a sense of collectivity that can lead to political action, then what we are looking at is a severe loss of Hispanicness. That is all you can call it.

I am using Hispanic as an example because I relate to it. It is not just linguistic dominance. It is linguistic imperialism. I am very concerned about nationhood, ethnic pride, and so forth. I suppose what it really comes down to is that I have to fight for language policy in the United States which seeks to establish linguistic free zones. These are places where linguistic pluralism is possible and encouraged.

The answer probably lies in between the two perspectives. My point of view at the moment would be toward trying to retard the trend. My view seems to be against what is going to happen, or at least against the natural flow. Then my part is to try to conceptualize what type of linguistic policy is going to retard that particular process. I don't know the correct way to proceed. My advice is to continue the discussion about retardation.

Dr. Peng: I am not sure whether it is our American way or not, but it seems to me that we think of something in terms of dollar signs. So we talk about language changes in terms of investment. I am not sure I agree with that approach.

I think that the retention of language has a lot to do with the language's utility. As I mentioned earlier, I think the retention rate varies from district to district or from area to area. I mentioned that people, for example, in Chinatown will probably have lower or a slower pace of changing their language pattern. They can use Chinese to conduct their daily lives. Chinese can be useful to them, so they try to use it.

However, if they want to do business with people outside of the community, I think it is very natural for them to adopt English. By using the English daily, people get into the habit and feel very comfortable with English as their usual language.

We also can take examples from other foreign countries. English has been used as the official language in India and in the Philippines. I am pretty sure that they still maintain their ethnic identity and their cultural heritage. They don't think that they are anglicized.

In China we also have a thousand different dialects. Thirty years ago or 50 years ago, people in the north had a hard time communicating with people in the south. They have different dialects. However, now we have an official language, so that people can communicate. People in the south still use their own dialects in their daily lives. They do not think of adopting the official language or the common language in order to change their culture.

The issue of maintaining the minority language has a lot to do with the community or environmental press or environmental pressure. Also, it has a lot to do with the will to maintain or retain their own culture. Language is just a tool for communication. It does not change their identity or try to abbreviate their culture.

Mr. Wenk: What does language represent? This central question has been raised throughout the discussion. Is it just a tool? Is it a symptom? Is it a cause? Is it appropriate to even talk about language with those very stark types of words?

I suggest we break for lunch.

AFTERNOON SESSION: A SECOND LOOK AT METHODOLOGY

Mr. Wenk: We would like to get off the panel mode of discussion and depart from the morning's focus on methodological issues. We would like to have our invited guests raise their points of interest and start an interchange with the panel. Please state your name.

Ms. Rosansky: Ellen Rosansky, SIE. You have just requested that we get off methodology. However, I am concerned that the kinds of objections raised about methodology and the SIE data be properly integrated along with the findings in the proceedings.

Mr. Wenk: Let me see if I can address that. There will be a report corresponding to the seminar. It should be full and comprehensive in its coverage. I don't believe the concerns of methodological or data quality will in any way be downplayed or later omitted from the report.

Dr. Chapman: John Chapman. I am with the Department of Education. Would anyone on the panel care to comment on alternatives to self-assessment? In that context, how feasible are they and how manageable are they when you deal with a large sample?

Dr. López: I thought methodology was boring all of you out there.

The question of self-assessment and its validity or reliability is very complex. I would like to come back to the context of the remarks. Mr. Laporte was talking about people who are clearly of bilingual competence. He was talking about the complexity of reporting reality.

I did some field work this morning during breakfast. The busboy personnel and most of the waiters in my hotel, as probably in yours, were primarily Spanish speakers. The supervisor was not. They were speaking Spanish to each other and speaking English to the supervisor. I was thinking about this incident as I answered that question.

It is a question that applies to people who do have that bilingual competence. In the study of language usage, contextuality, et cetera, among those people who have dimensions of freedom in their language usage, it is extremely difficult to get accurate information. However, for grosser kinds of measures, or barometric trends, we are a little fuzzy in the transition period. However, when we look at monolinguals and two or three generations down the line, the data do not have that kind of problem.

Dr. Nielsen: I am Francois Nielsen.

I have a short remark to answer John Chapman's remark.

There is literature concerning the best indicators of actual linguistic practice. I know one paper by Cooper and Fishman. It compares various methods of assessing language proficiency and language usage. Some methods take a test of English versus Spanish. Others involve records to assess the accent people used when speaking English. People can think about a whole series of things.

The most valid indications were the simplest census-type questions on mother tongue, home language, and second home language. These are the most precise indicators of actual linguistic practice.

NCES STUDY TO VALIDATE THE SELF-REPORT DATA

Dr. Oxford: Rebecca Oxford from Inter-America Research Association.

I have a question about the hothouse study that will validate the self-report data. Is that the measure of adult English proficiency?

Dr. Chapman: To begin with, I think the hothouse test has 60 people. Essentially the test is attempting to see the feasibility of census enumerators to administering something like a test. They will use both a measure of adult English proficiency and tests developed under the Children's English Services Study for kids, which I guess is now called language assessment. There are different age groups.

In September, this first attempt is to be followed by a somewhat larger attempt to use the procedure and see the results. If June goes well and September goes well, there will be a large-scale attempt to use it in 1982. Then information will be related to the 1980 census data.

Leo, would you like to make some corrections to what I have stated?

Dr. Estrada: A lot depends on how this hothouse test goes. If it proves to be a feasible methodology, then we have plans for the future. If it does not, we will have to go back to the drawing board.

Dr. Oxford: Of what does the MAEP consist, the measure of adult English proficiency? What is it like?

Dr. Chapman: I am not sure if there is anybody else here who knows more about it than I do. Unfortunately, I cannot claim that I am a real good person to answer that question.

The test has a section involving reading and responding to oral commands or orders. It addresses different components. It was developed with the notion to address the kind of language skills required to apply for social services. Whereas the Children's English Services battery was developed in a school context, this one was developed for adults applying for services like those HEW funds directly and indirectly.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Mr. Furney: I am Delford Furney from the Latino Institute. I would like to say something that is not methodological.

Before we broke for lunch, Dr. Peng pointed out that language was simply a tool for communication. Calvin Veltman told us that anglicization simply referred to language shift. While talking with Calvin at lunch we discussed languages. Sociological literature has tried to point out in the past that speaking a language implies a certain perception of the world. Frank Espada said that when he spoke Spanish, he tended to feel a little bit more mellow.

Calvin, would you comment on what you mean by anglicization and what it implies in terms of how we see the world?

Dr. Veltman: This is my personal opinion. This is how I read the world as a sociologist trying to make sense of the relationship between language and culture.

I mentioned that my grandmother struck me as being Dutch. She was sort of Dutchy. I don't know how to explain that exactly. It is clear to me that my father is an American. He was born in the United States. He doesn't like going to countries where people speak strange languages. If my cousins speak Dutch to him, he has the negative feeling of being an outsider.

I am not making a scientific statement. These are my perceptions. Immigrants come to the United States knowing that this is an English language country. They come to the United States with a positive disposition toward fitting in and living here. They are either escaping from poverty, religious oppression, or political tyranny. There is a positive disposition to be as good an American as one can possibly be in the immigrant generation.

The length of residence in the United States and the degree to which people shift to English seem to relate together pretty well. It may be simply that it is demographically impossible to maintain your language at the immigrant level. If you don't speak English well, the U.S.'s economic structure may make it very difficult to get ahead. I will have something to say about that in a later report to NCES. All these factors sort of combine to produce a great deal of anglicization.

What does this say about culture? In this instance, immigrants may be willing to shed their world views, if they are different from people who are already here. When one learns the English language through contact with the American environment, one also learns American norms. I think ethnicity is very American. Ethnic groups hang together after their language has disappeared. However, intermarriage causes a long term threat to the cultural integrity of a group. These are matters for empirical research. It seems to me that ethnic groups do survive anglicization. It also seems to me that most of us sort of share American norms: the value of education, working within the political system, organizing power groups to deal with the American political system, and notions of success. We share a lot of things which are pretty typically American irrespective of the cultural group of our ancestors.

Nonetheless, I am not at all sure that I can say glibly that, "I'm Dutch because my blood is 100 percent Dutch." Although it is true, I am fourth generation American. However, most people here would see me as an Anglo-American.

This is really the best I can do with that question. I am no more competent to deal with the question than anybody else on the panel.

LANGUAGE SHIFT AND UTILIZATION

Dr. Valdéz: Teresa Valdéz.

I have been interested in a lot of the discussion that has gone on. However, in many ways it seems we are getting grounded in methodology and in other issues. We are skirting the policy implications. I read some things that are inclusive in what has been said.

Our friends from Canada are reading the implications of the shift to English language usage to suggest that we need to take a stand on maintenance. I think

that the history of this country has not supported the maintenance of the Spanish language. In fact, we have tried to eradicate it for a long period of time. That element needs to be brought into the methodological equation. It is not just a matter of growth over time.

I think the other point of view is that the policy implications of some of these findings could have many negative ramifications. I think this is perhaps what Dr. Cárdenas meant. Given the political history of this country, these findings may suggest to people that the process is almost over. If we do anything with respect to policy, it is to speed up that process to completely do away with the language.

I would like to hear the members of the panel address some of the policy implications more specifically and more pointedly. Also I would like them to look to the currency of the language. That currency of language could be utilitarian in dollars. It can have a very viable currency in terms of nationality, a sense of ethnicity, cultural values, and so on.

I think it is for that reason that this country would find it difficult to support maintenance of the Spanish language. If Spanish has a utilitarian currency in dollars in the marketplace, then that is probably going to be better received from non-Chicano, non-Mexicano, non-Cubano persons who have learned Spanish. They could be more trusted in terms of cultural proximity with the dominant society.

I would like you to focus on the policy.

Dr. Mazzone: I would like to make a couple of remarks about the issue you raised.

I think one of the dilemmas we face today in the issue's policy and politics can be found at the Federal level. This is inconsistency in the policy of the education world. The Congress has provided a program for bilingualism as a national policy. The policy is permissive in the sense that it allows it to happen. It is a transitional type of policy. That is clearly the Federal policy. It is also very clearly my state's policy.

On the other hand, Commission on Foreign Languages report promotes and advocates the teaching and the cultivation of foreign languages. The cultivation of the cultures associated with them is implied in that report. We haven't tapped the resources that we have amongst ourselves. The report labels this "a national disgrace."

There seem to be two conflicting policies. At the Federal level, the policymakers' problem is how to get the two together. This includes the Secretary herself. She has stated this publicly.

As a member of the National Advisory Council on Bilingual Education, I have been asked and have begun to address this issue.

How do we ensure that the Commission's recommendations are somehow blended or meshed with the other permissive policy of Title 7? There are some real problems in essence. Incompatibilities are there almost by nature.

I don't have the resolution. The policy issue is part of the problem that we are facing.

The Secretary desires the simultaneous promotion of both of these policies. How do you make it operational? Can you make it operational? Does it mean we have to look for some other kind of policy, maybe another alternative?

Dr. Cárdenas: I would like to respond to the question about policy implications.

If we accept the study as gospel, the system could very easily wait four or five years until they lose their language. Just pat them on the head and keep the heathen happy. Eventually they will become anglicized.

We have been in a period of drastic transitional dynamic changes, since this study was initially conducted in 1976. I wonder if we can interpret the 1980 reality in terms of 1976 data. I wonder about the implications of language transfer. There is no question that the transferability is occurring at a very rapid rate.

If we will involve ourselves in a recapitulation of recent data, concurrent building up of language capability in our community is happening along with the loss.

We do have an estimable amount of undocumented people from Mexico, South America, and the Caribbean. These people are coming to this country. They are entering into conjugal relations. They are developing social ties in their areas, which are mostly agricultural-urban areas. They are producing quite a few children whose matrix culture will be Caribbean and Mexican. These parents are generally from lower socio-economic levels. They are chronically unemployed. They are monolingual. We have the language perpetuation.

I would like to have us consider this. I don't know if the census will reveal that we are going to number in the 20 million population range with the additional undocumented Cubans. Spanish is not a minority language. Many of us speak Spanish and perpetuate our lifestyle and our language. Spanish may be a secondary language and may be subordinate to the English language. According to the media trade magazines, the American manufacturer is spending a half billion dollars on sales messages, marketing programming, and literature in the Spanish language. CBS, NBC, ABC conduct valid studies with social matricians. If there is a language decay, why are they making such an inordinate investment in reaching Spanish-speaking people? Why are radio and television programming growing by leaps and bounds in the Spanish community?

I again question this study. I again question taking 1976 data and extruding the linguistic ingredient, and coming up with a configuration that says thus, thus, and thus. There are certain valid findings in it that we have to concur exist. It is kind of gilding the lily to project from these findings the 1980s language transfer mechanism or sustained languages.

If we take the opposite poles in the policy implications, those who are for and those who are against, let them ride it out four or five years and then we'll stop the funding. I think the Spanish language is here to stay.

Mr. Beaty: I would like to add a little response from the Canadian perspective.

Everybody around the panel this morning has been saying it is better that we face this question squarely. The question in very broad terms is always going to be: Can one be a little bit bilingual in the same way as someone can be a little bit pregnant?

To me, language maintenance means keeping that language at a level where it has social and cultural value. How realistic is it to talk about maintaining a language unless the language is surrounded by institutional conditions and other environmental factors? The media and communications environment factors would enable it to foresee transmitting itself from one generation to another. The language would not be merely an instrumental value for "getting by." So long as the language has no future of that kind, we may be kidding ourselves by talking about language maintenance which is at a low level of instrumental value.

Dr. Veltman: I could not disagree more with what Dr. Cárdenas has said. I share his concern. He has presented one typical American viewpoint.

I wrote the paper to diffuse the unfounded political fears. Treating our language minorities in the United States with a minimum of respect will not undermine the national integrity of the United States.

There are people who need persuasion that that's the road we are going to have to take. Pressure groups will help persuade.

The other alternative, it seems to me, is in fact sort of a cynical stance, which may very well be taken. However, I prefer to associate myself with Dr. López' position that the Spanish language immigration is not over.

I would like to see that the children of the immigrants will not be faced with the intolerance and the same degree and kinds of anglicization pressure, which many kids have received in the school system. Ten years down the road, the situation may be a little bit more humane with a minimum of respect for minority language groups and their contributions to our cultural policy.

OTHER RELATED STUDIES

Mr. Wenk: There are always some questions as to the difference between what can be quantified in terms of measurement perceptions. They don't always square. We don't really know at this point what is right. I think we do know that these data are the best currently available. Some alternatives are projected in the short future. The census is one alternative source.

I think it might be fruitful to have people in the audience comment on the availability of other comparable sources of data. Please indicate whether they are currently available or projected to be available at some time in the future.

Dr. Nielsen: I am Francois Nielsen.

I want to mention a study called "High School and Beyond." The target population of the study is high school students from the 10th grade and the 12th grade. The study uses 17,000 student subjects, of which 30 percent claim to be Hispanic.

For the second time since the SIE survey, we have asked detailed language questions. We have language questions which are more detailed than the SIE survey. We have questions on mother tongue and other languages learned in the family besides the principal language. We have labeled these principal home language and second home language. We also have questions of proficiency: How well do you speak the other language? Do you understand it? Do you read or write it? We have the same kinds of questions for English.

We also have questions which relate to David López's statements: questions about the context of the language; questions about the frequency with which the student speaks the non-English language with the father, the mother, and with the siblings; questions about at work, at school, et cetera.

We have fairly detailed language questions in addition to some attempt to estimate whether a student has had some experience in bilingual-bicultural education. The survey was administered in the spring and winter. The data are starting to come in. We have about 75 percent of the data now. In the middle of the

summer, the data should be set up. The survey is going to be repeated with the same students in 1982 and again in 1984.

As far as anglicization is concerned, we have individuals at a critical point of their lives. There is a high rate of assimilation when students get out of high school and go to college or into the labor force. Essentially they are more separated from their families and are more subject to the pressure of urban society. That should be a very interesting survey. It will be available soon.

Mr. Wenk: If you didn't already point it out, Francois, the study is of the current class of high school sophomores and high school seniors.

Dr. Oxford: I am Rebecca Oxford from Inter-America.

I am sure that some of you in the group are aware that a major national research agenda is being developed. It is headed by Dick Lambert of the University of Pennsylvania, and concerns the attrition of language skills.

This means attrition in one's native language in a bilingual setting and what happens to kids who are in purely transitional settings, how much they can maintain of their native language. Also, it is attrition of foreign language skills in the context of the Peace Corps or in the context of foreign language learning in high schools or colleges.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL ASSIMILATION

Mr. Wenk: In addition to the direct measures that have language orientation, I think there has been some discussion about proxy measures that involve similar patterns, such as exogamy.

Dr. Castonguay: Often it is said that the cardinal principle of ethnic identification is endogamy. Endogamy is the choice of a marriage partner from the ethnic group. I understand that there has been a study by the United States Census Bureau that is not yet in print. The study is on the progression of out-marriage as one goes from generation to generation. Apparently that is on the increase. I have observed the same thing in the Canadian census data in 1971 and 1976.

I have compared cohorts, and the situation is on an increase. There seems to be a lowering of those barriers, ethnic markers, which inhibited out-marriage. The gradual lowering is due to social mobility, geographical mobility, linguistic mobility, greater religious tolerance, and many, many currents of contemporary social change. We seem to go in that direction.

It is something which can be studied in connection with language retention. One can look at those couples which are of linguistic or ethnically mixed background. One can see which language is used as the language in the home, and whether the other parent's main language is successfully passed on to the children.

This type of research is going on now in Canada and the United States.

LANGUAGE DEMOGRAPHY

Mr. Wenk: Would you please identify yourself?

Dr. Macias: Reynaldo Macias. I am the Assistant Director for Reading and Language Studies at the National Institute of Education, now part of the Education Department.

I would like to address the issue of differences between the report and the SIE and this country's language demographic in the last 20 years.

This study has inherent policy implications. The nature of policy formulation in this country, particularly at the Federal level, is a response to the political arena and not the research in and of itself. In that sense, the two questions should be separated.

How this particular study is used in that arena is something quite entirely different and quite entirely apart from the author and the work itself. There is one caveat: the report will take a life of its own, much like the AAR study on bilingual education, and will reflect on its author. I say that not to take a pro or con position, but intentions in reports aren't always viewed in that kind of way.

In that respect we should be prepared to accept the good with the bad. The study will be interpreted in very, very different ways.

The political use of this kind of research or the political pressures about the contracting and the support of this kind of research have to hinge on a sophistication about language demography, that I don't think we have. That leads me to the second point.

The conclusions that this study reached are not any different from what Fishman and his colleagues reached 20 years ago, in relation to language loyalty in the United States. However, there were two important exceptions to the general conclusions in relation to the Spanish language group. Between 1900 and 1960, the decline in non-English language use happened for almost every language group that they looked at, with the exception of the Spanish speaking. The fragmentation of the community infrastructure that supported those ethnic communities and those language groups also held for every language group with the exception of the Spanish speaking. Those two exceptions were not explored in a very light way in the first study. This particular report explores it not at all.

That crucial link to language use, aside from the reported aspects of language abilities and language use that the SIE contains, is a crucial link. The endogamy-exogamy studies of the 1950s and the 1960s made similar assumptions with regard to language use as an index of cultural assimilation, particularly for the Mexican and the Puerto Rican. Those kinds of things led policymakers, educators, researchers, scholars, people down the wrong path. David, as a sociologist, is familiar with some of this literature, particularly with regard to the work you have been doing the last 10 years; you might fill in some of the gaps if I distort it a little bit.

In many respects the Spanish speaking, again particularly the Mexicans and the Puerto Ricans, were viewed as assimilated. Twenty years later, we are still dealing with the same problem, and we are trying to see what the data are telling us to see, whether or not it has taken place. It hasn't.

The limitation to these data, aside from the methodology, is the conceptualization and the interpretation above and beyond the report. The study of the nature and the relationship between the limitations of the quantitative data and the qualitative data that have not been gathered is the kind of language demography work that has not taken place.

The nature of the growth of the Spanish language groups in the U.S. has not been viewed in relation to its ethnic base or its community base. In that respect,

the kind of things that Dr. Cárdenas has said relative to media, the economy, and so on, and the kinds of language maintenance pressures and use pressures have not been examined.

In a study several years ago, Dr. López indicated that the Mexicans' use of Spanish relative to finding occupations was something that needed to be looked at as a pressure for, if not the relearning, a shift in the frequency of use of Spanish in that network. That is age specific as well as domain specific.

The nature of the life cycle and the frequency of language use and the opportunity structures for that language use have not been examined. They may give a different picture than the age relationship of language use that we have here or that we have in similar kinds of studies in other countries.

The breakdown of other variables of Mexicans versus Puerto Ricans versus Cubans versus Central and South Americans versus other Spanish language groups indicates very different patterns. I would suggest that there are also very different patterns in relation to language use and abilities.

I would also venture to suggest that if we divided general language demography along the lines of immigrant language groups, refugee language groups, and indigenous language groups, that we would begin to get a very different pattern. In relation to this country's dual language policy for the past 150 years, the nature of those classifications would also begin to explain why some of these anomalies have not been touched by the quantitative data.

There has been a very strong inconsistent language policy for indigenous language minorities, including native Americans, Africans when they were brought to this country, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans. The policy is one of language repression. With regard to immigrant language groups, the policy was one of tolerance. Then when it became too complex in relation to numbers, it was one of repression. The stereotype and the association of non-English language use within immigrant phenomena still persist today. The distinctions from language versus ethnic group versus nationality versus policies for those groups are the crucial links that have not been explored and are not contained in this report.

I would like to leave it at that.

Dr. Veltman: That is interesting. It requires basically different data sets than those we have available.

Let me just mention one thing. In another separate analysis, I did look at the different ethnic components--Chicano, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and other Hispanics.

In a classic sociological multiple regression analysis the differences for the monolingualism of children are basically not significant, given the populations and the size. The differences are not significant once we take into account the language that the parents speak to the kids. The chosen language is a function of where the parents were born.

The populations are so different. The Chicanos are more native born. The Cubans are highly foreign born, the parents of the Cuban kids. Even in a multiple regression equation, it is hard to estimate the effects of ethnicity. At least from a preliminary reading of the SIE, ethnic origin in a Spanish community does not seem to make much difference in that study.

For other age groups, belonging to a particular language group doesn't seem to make too much difference. Once you take into account parental language, which

is a function of where the parents were born, there are some differences between groups. The differences seem to be enormous. This tends to suggest that there is a relatively uniform process at work here.

I am perfectly willing to admit that we need a much larger, more complete data base to explore aspects like context. Maybe Francois' "High School and Beyond" study will provide that sort of analysis.

QUESTIONS ON LANGUAGE USAGE

Mr. Kralt: I am John Kralt.

I have a little problem here with this context business. I am with the Canadian census. We did a survey in a number of cities to test and evaluate our census questions. We had five questions: language of work, language of education, mother tongue, home language, and then do you speak English, French, both, or neither. The thing that struck me very much was that, regardless of which question you were asking, the context in which the individual worked or was using the language affected very much his answer to all these questions.

With the question that you are using here, to what extent is the anglicization, if you want to call it that, overextended or much greater than it would have been? If you had put it in a home context, you might have gotten completely different results.

Dr. Veltman: I will do the best I can with that question.

Let me just say this: the interview was conducted in the person's home. The initial questions posed were: What is the language that the people of this household usually speak here at home? The second question was: Do the people in this home speak any other language at home?

With the personal language questions which are non-contextual, such as "What language does this person usually speak," there may be sort of a rebiasing toward the home setting. It is very hard to know. We simply cannot know. Again, it makes a lot of difference: whether we are talking about the difference between anglicization rates of 30 and 40 percent and the differences between Canada and the United States; or whether we are supposing that if we had asked a different question, we would have gotten anglicization rates of 0 percent instead of 95.

Mr. Wenk: Dr. Cárdenas has pointed out that you see a two-string pattern, a language utilization decrease at the same time as an increase. Does anybody have any data or qualitative evidence beyond what has already been cited to comment at all on the magnitude of these two strings? We are looking at a net figure in spite of the age differentiation that you have done.

Dr. Waggoner: I am Dorothy Waggoner.

I made some comparisons with the 1940 census. The first year that the mother tongue was ever asked for anybody was 1940. The second year was 1970.

There were phenomenal increases in using a language like Norwegian, by native born children with native born parents. This means to me that there is a very large effect on the psychological climate, perceptions of respondents of their own background and the perceptions which they have of the majority toward their

families. In 1940 it was much better to say that your mother tongue was English than to say it was Norwegian.

I have also observed some interesting differences between 1970 and the SIE data. The Navajo have increased something of the order of 75 percent; and the general population has grown about 4 percent from 1970 to 1976.

As most of you in this room know, in 1970 and 1976 there was increasingly the possibility for Navajos to have schools in the Navajo language. There was a whole movement toward Indian self-control and self-determination. So the Navajo felt freer to report that their language background was Navajo.

This brings me to a wide area which I find completely overlooked in Cal's paper. Not only are there sampling errors, but he does not even mention the possibility of non-sampling errors. These errors indicate that these increases are very heavily involved in this kind of data collection. People do answer selectively to a census. I think you have to take that into consideration.

I would have been more impressed with the statements about the parents not going to hand down the language to the next generation, if he had looked at some of the other questions in the SIE. Namely, what language do the parents teach their children? This question might tell us a little more about whether language is being passed on.

I also understand from one of our contractors that there was a greater number of people reporting non-English languages in response to "What language do you use to your best friends?" This was perceived as a less intrusive question than "What language do you usually speak?" That should be explored.

However, I have some specific things that bother me very much. I mentioned Navajo as one of my examples of an increase in reporting. Throughout the paper there is mention of native Americans and the fact that only one native American language was studied in the study. So, there was no way to find out how many people have native American languages.

I am also puzzled by the large number of foreign born Spanish mother tongue people in New York State. I suspect what I am seeing is the same apparent problem I found in the original version. There is confusion about who is foreign born and who is native born. I think those people are Puerto Ricans and resent being considered foreign born. There is, indeed, a difference between people who are born on the island and those who are born on the continent. That is a different question. That is something else I think needs to be cleaned up before the paper is published.

Dr. Veltman: I said the same thing about the 1940 and 1970 censuses in an article in Canada. One of my friends went to the library, read the questionnaires and absolutely blew me away.

The 1940 question on mother tongue was a fairly decent, straightforward question. The 1970 question on mother tongue was designed to capture as many people as possible as an identifier for their cultural origins. I don't remember who told me that at the Census Bureau. The question was worded thusly: What language other than English was spoken in your home when you were a child? Many people interpreted that to mean: What language other than English have you ever heard spoken once in your home when you were a child?

The Census did a restudy. It was published as the Census Restudy of the 1970

Census Questions. With the exception of the Spanish group, the study overemphasized or captured many more people of totally English language background whose grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives spoke the language, but not themselves.

I would say that 1940 and 1970 comparisons are very shaky. I got burned on it.

As far as parents to kids are concerned, I did look at parents to kids in a different study. For example, I found homes where the Spanish language was the principal household language, the second household language, the usual language of the child, or the second language of the child. These homes had an average of one adult per household who spoke English to the children.

I didn't run a mean count of how many people there were in each of the households. I would figure that it would average out to two. That indicates that there probably are not too many speaking Spanish to their children. In other non-English groups, the figure was something like 0.37. One third of an adult per household spoke a non-English language to their child. That would seem to indicate that the parents are not being very vigorous about language maintenance.

With respect to native Americans, I deal with that topic in the appendix of the paper. I pulled out all the people who were of native American ethnic ancestry. I think the following is a reasonable assumption: If a person was of native American ethnic ancestry and if they reported a non-English language, the language was a native American non-English language. That is how I got non-English languages for groups other than Navajo. Navajo is the only language that was specifically singled out.

COMPARISON OF CANADIAN AND UNITED STATES CENSUS

Mr. Kralt: I would like to make a little bit of followup, Cal, on the changes between censuses. There is a pretty good example of what happens between two censuses that are five years apart: the 1971 and 1975 Canadian censuses. Leo may contradict me, but I have no reason to suspect that the American situation is much different, although it may not be as drastic.

The number of non-official languages in Canada declined somewhere from 15 to 25 percent between the two census years in the public tabulation. That is one hell of a decrease, no matter how you cut it.

It turns out that it is not an actual decline, but a change in the processing. In 1971 if somebody gave us English and another language, the other language took precedence. We had a pick up problem in 1976 when the machine wasn't working quite right, so we did it the other way around. There was a 20 percent drop.

We started doing comparisons. It was very easy because the Census is nice and handy. In our case for the ethnic variable, we have data from 1871 right up to today. Presumably, it is the same kind of question. However, we tend to forget that the techniques used, the processing used, the coding instructions, and everything else is completely different from earlier censuses. When there is 5 percent here and 8 percent here, there is a 3 percent change. It is probably as much a processing change as anything else.

Dr. Waggoner: I have used the reinterpretation study in Canada. This is in response to Cal. If he had studied the interview study carefully and, as I did, made

an adjustment for that, the difference cannot be accounted for in any other way than to understand that there was a psychological change between 1940 and 1970.

I am citing this simply because we must take into account the fact that we are dealing with a very sensitive area. It is not scientific. You cannot make sweeping assertions in response to these kinds of questions, until we know much more.

LANGUAGE AND THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Mrs. Piñelo: I am Ursula Piñelo.

One of the issues that doesn't seem to have come up today is the fact that language is a political statement. It seems to me that that is something which impacts greatly on the possibility of maintenance of a language. I think it will especially in this country. Perhaps our Canadian friends can comment on that.

It seems to me that the possibilities for that should be looked at in terms of what Dorothy was addressing: the changes in the way people report language. The possibilities of third generations relearning a language because they want to establish themselves may be affected by changes in the political situation, which may become more benevolent, more accepting, or more tolerant. Maybe that in itself may create more of anglicization.

All those things seem to me to be very relevant to what may happen to Spanish. I think the fact that Spanish behaves a little differently or Hispanic populations behave a little differently in this transitional process may be accounted for in the way that Hispanics react to the political situation and their need to establish their identity through a language.

Dr. Mazzone: I would just make a brief comment.

I came to this conclusion a long time ago, and it was reinforced just the other day: the degree of acceptance of the non-English language by the institutions, whether it is the schools, the courts, or whatever, is going to be directly related to the threat that that language poses to the power structure. I think that is a real political issue.

We see it wherein legislators have to make decisions about whether to introduce a policy that would recognize the non-English media, whether it is of a transitional nature or a maintenance nature.

We saw it this past week in the state of California. I saw it again this week in Rhode Island. I happened to be there for a meeting. After having worked with the legislature on that piece of legislation for about a year, it was defeated. It's a threat. I think that is a reality.

I don't know if that addresses your question, but I think it is related to it.

LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES

Dr. López: I am glad we are finally getting away a little bit from the interesting, but very complex methodological and social linguistic questions. The questions are really kind of unanswerable, certainly in this context, if not in most any other context.

Next month I have to deliver a paper entitled, "Is There a Language Policy in the United States?" One reason I am here today was that I was hoping somebody could tell me. We have these laws, and possibly or possibly not contradictory practices.

In thinking about this for a week or two--and that is really all I have been thinking about--it seems to me we are looking at the wrong place. People in Washington have a tendency to take themselves terribly seriously. It is always very amusing to come back here. For example, you seem to believe that laws are important and that bureaucrats have consequences.

Dr. Macías: No more than researchers do, David.

Dr. López: I only take my own research seriously.

It seems to me the United States is not, first of all, a centralized country. Canada I guess is not a good comparison. When we compare it to the Latin American countries, the United States has a very decentralized system.

There is lots of policy going on at state levels, at local levels. Sometimes it is a question of laws. Other times it is practices. Sometimes it has nothing at all to do with the formal mechanisms of government. Sometimes it has to do with our language.

For example, I don't know when it was I realized this, but we have been talking about minority languages here. Also, I guess in other parts of Washington you talk about language minorities a great deal. That is something new. That is definitely new. I am not that old, but it is a new word or new phrase for me. The latest thought of talking about a group as a language minority and raising the kinds of questions that we are raising indicates an extremely important policy change.

Nevertheless, I do continue to have at the back of my mind, this nagging question: Is there a language policy in the United States?

With respect to elections, we now have multilingual-bilingual election laws that have been enforced in at least two or three cities in the country.

While I was working on that project a few years ago, someone suggested the real problem is that you are never going to get many Spanish speakers who will go to the polls, because all the Spanish speakers are not citizens anyway. I said, "Well, there is certainly something to that, but why don't we let them vote anyway?" That seemed to be a totally unthinkable thing, at least in the context of the Federal Election Commission's domain.

What is the language policy we are referring to? What are the language policies? You people out there probably know more about it than people up here. You keep talking about the effect on language policy. What is it?

Mr. Wenk: Let me pick up on that and see if we can shift the direction of this conversation. The panelists, although quite competent, are not here solely to answer questions from the people sitting there. I think we should reverse the flow. I feel that this is a good way to start it, especially given the representation from the people who are guests here today.

Would anybody like to take a crack at that rather broad question?

Dr. Chapman: I would like to make a quick comment on it.

In my way of looking at it, I don't think that there is a language policy. When you talk about elections and you talk about bilingual education in the United States, you are not talking really about a language policy. You are talking about equal access. I think that is the policy implied by those types of programs.

As far as the way I define language policy or what I see, I don't think we do have a language policy in the United States, except insofar as English is the official language.

Dr. Macías: Where does it say that?

Dr. López: People keep mentioning the Constitution. I haven't read it since I was in fourth grade. Is there something in the Constitution about English?

Dr. Chapman: The assumption is that English is the official language. English is the language everybody ought to speak. I think the fact concerning language policy, formalized or even informal, that really speaks to the existence of other languages, only tends to be more access policy than language policy.

Dr. Macías: Without belaboring the point of the definition of policy, Shirley Brightseth, who has done some comparative work in language policy, did make a very good distinction for the United States as opposed to centralized policymaking nations. That is that when one talks about language policy and the way language policy planning, research, and literature has tended to develop, one looks at nations that have very centralized or at least Federal statements about policy.

The United States in her terms has the policy configuration. That is, there are any number of official statements made about language, whether it is language access, language as a characteristic or mechanism of social control at different levels, or whatever. They are neither necessarily consistent, nor comprehensive, nor centralized. They tend to be bound in their enforcement and in their scope by the agency or the unit making that official statement.

By and large, the bulk of language policy formulation in this country has been at the local and state levels. The Federal Government did not get into making official statements about language policy until 1917 to 1930. In the development of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Border Patrol, the Federal Executive Branch began making statements about language requirements for different things.

The states have developed a rash of literacy requirements and language requirements relative to occupational access, medium of instruction, and any number of other kinds of areas. The Supreme Court in the early 1920s made judgments about language in relation to other issues. It continues to develop in relation to both its own momentum and social issues, and to almost culminate in the 1968 Bilingual Education Act and the 1974 decisions.

One of the serious impacts of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act is to create a pressure to do away with many of the prohibitive and discriminatory educational language policies at the state level. Primarily in relation to education and medium of instruction, any number of changes in state legislation happened in the 1970s and are still happening. I think those are things that we tend not to focus on when we talk about language policy.

There is an impact. There is an interaction between Federal statements about language and state and local levels about language. But it is at that local level that the impact between official statements and either services or language choice on an individual and a group level takes place. That has not been looked at.

The other thing about this country's policy is that the rights, laid out in the Constitution, Bill of Rights, and case law, tend to be vested in the individual or the institution. By the institution, I am talking about the government. There is no interim body relative to language rights or other kinds of rights. When we talk about

language minorities, we tend to talk about collectivities. When we talk about rights per se, we talk about individual access.

The courts have dealt with language issues in two ways. When language issues have been related to fundamental rights (whether it is due process, equal protection, or any of the others) language discrimination has been viewed as part of national origin discrimination. That's a conceptual predisposition based on the kind of immigrant stereotypes and association with language that we have been talking about before.

There is no concept of language rights that is either vested in the individual or in the group in this country. Language in and of itself as an issue of discrimination has been basically thrown out of court. The individuals and the people don't have standing for litigation of those issues. Those issues themselves are not litigable. There are court decisions in relation to occupational testing, EEO discrimination, and any number of other areas. The schooling issue has been dealt with and has been rejected by the courts, the Federal courts in particular.

Mr. Wenk: I think we have several items we would like to cover in the time that remains to us. I sense we have had about as much discussion as we can expect at this point based on the SIE data set and Dr. Veltman's work. We are very much concerned with where we head from here in terms of missing data, missing analysis, work remaining to be done. I would like to shift the basis of the conversation in that direction.

However, before we do that, Dr. Cárdenas has a plane to catch shortly and would like to make a few remarks before he has to depart.

Dr. Cárdenas: Thank you.

I would like to make a couple of valedictory comments. I think we have been in a cul de sac all morning and afternoon. We have kind of ring around the rosied ourselves to death.

I may seem antagonistic, Cal. Antagonistic to your study I am not. I am just praying for a greater definition, and for a greater awareness that studies such as this can have serious impact in the way they are translated and/or implemented out in the community.

In a valedictorian way I wonder where we are going in this conference. We have an hour or so to go. I think we should go in for a closure. I think we have to define where we are going. We have looked at this language transferability. I don't know if some of us are willing to admit that there is as much language lost as indicated in the research.

I would like the panel and the people here to consider what the policy implications, if any, are in this type of symposium. I wonder if we could use these materials to forecast new legislative initiative that would impact upon language studies and upon further research.

What are the effects of this type of discussion on the educational structure in this country? What are the effects on bilingual education and its continued funding? What is our national policy and should we have a national policy toward the subordinate Spanish language? I say subordinate--subordinate only in terms of 25 million as opposed to 218 million or whatever the statistics are.

I wonder if we can comfortably recognize that the Spanish language in this country is a reality which is going to continue to grow at a quantum level. We must

recognize the implications of language loss on foreign relations, on industry, and using foreign language, as we mentioned, if it has currency value to those of us who speak the Spanish language or any other language. Is there a multiple effect in terms of benefits to ourselves personally, to our children, and to our culture?

I feel we have a very serious responsibility to attempt to assess the problem from a different post of observation and to see the study as having "X" implications and a fairly heavy quantum rate. Others don't see that. I don't think we necessarily have to agree. I think we have to recognize there are various and sundry points of view. I think they all have value.

I believe a lot of children out there are going to be affected. A lot of families are going to be affected by whatever comes down in this and other type conferences, and affected by how Cal's research is perceived, evaluated, accepted or rejected.

As you indicated, you have committed yourself to the study and certain findings. You have to not necessarily support it. From our perception, we either have to support it or take issue with it.

I am uncomfortable with the study. I would like to see some of those who share my feeling, and who are more statistically competent than I am sit down with Cal and perhaps provide him with some input that may alter the course of this study.

With that, I thank you.

Mr. Wenk: When we started this morning there was a presumption that certain types of decisionmaking are aided by the availability of data and other knowledge. That may not always be the case.

However, I think there is a framework within which we can work. Some questions in the entire complex have been broadly covered today, including the role of the school system. There are questions of the politics of the situation. For some of us here, one of the bottom lines is areas for further research.

Let me address that in a backward way from the way I just mentioned it. Before we get into anything on where we go from here or areas for further research, data collection and analysis, it might be useful to have a few of the people say a little bit more about what is in progress but not completed (whether through Federal initiatives or other).

Ron Hall, would you care to comment on that?

Dr. Hall: There are other people in the room who can comment probably more comprehensively than I can. You may be aware of the current Title 7 research agenda. It is an effort guided by a coordinating committee formerly of the Education Division in HEW and now under the new structure in the Education Department.

We have not put all the pieces together, but essentially I think we are operating the same way. When all the studies are up and running, we will have approximately 22 discrete studies in operation. Many of these have several subactivities.

The projection study is one such item. The hothouse study that Census is doing this summer is a first level pilot which will be followed by a more extensive pilot. The objective is to ultimately give us a count of children and adults for English proficiency by language and by state. This is tied in with the 1980 census. John Chapman can explain that one in more detail if he would like.

Basically we have three kinds of studies going. We have drawn from the mandates that the Congress gave us in 1978 amendments. We have put those

together with certain policy issues that need an information base, according to both the Department and interested parties in the field. We are looking at the need for bilingual education in the United States in terms of number of people, teacher qualifications and so forth. We are conducting a number of activities aimed at trying to improve the current services for students in bilingual education. We are conducting a series of activities aimed at trying to improve the management and operation of the Title 7 programs. Those are the three general categories in which we are doing our investigations.

There is also quite a bit of activity going on at NIE and elsewhere in the Education Department. Reynaldo may want to speak a little bit to that.

We are not performing at this point any specific studies looking at language shift or language maintenance. I think that a number of us are here to get some sense of what kind of research might be needed and how the research feeds back into the Federal effort of providing for the educational needs and proficiency of children and adults.

Does that help you?

I would invite any of my colleagues to join in.

There is one particular study that I might mention. Ursula Piñelo is here. We are looking at the complexities of the need for bilingual education in Puerto Rico, which has some unusual circumstances. We may have more of a comparison there with the Quebec situation than a comparison between the Canadian experience and the overall United States experience. We might need to probe a little further with Cal and others with regard to that particular subject.

Does anybody want to add anything?

Dr. Macías: Maybe I will elaborate very quickly on the nature of the NIE work, aside from the cooperation on a number of studies on an interoffice basis. The development of field-initiated kinds of work through the grants mechanism is looking primarily at instructional research and questions of bilingual education. In one case, highlighting institution-building activities are being supported jointly with the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs. In another case, it is through the appropriations for the Institute. The National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education has as its mandate the collection, dissemination, and analysis of information related to bilingual education and the nature of how those activities might best serve us not only in relation to data analysis, but also in relation to disseminating many of these kinds of things.

The National Center for Bilingual Research will have a broader active research mandate. Particularly, we hope to develop data archives, to allow secondary data analysis of this type, and to include different data sources that are being developed.

I would like to mention here something "nongovernmental" in the sense of being carried out as a possible comparable data set. The national Mexican survey done by the Institute for Social Research and the Chicano Research Network in Ann Arbor. It was a rather large national household sampling of the Mexican origin population. Some of the questions dealt with language, language use and language abilities. They used a particular technique relative to bilingual interviewing and the use of bilingual instruments. It should be looked at for both its methodological importance on the nature of the data themselves and also for

possible replication or modification in other situations. It has been a bug in relation to language surveys and the nature of the language in which those surveys have been carried out. I think that this is an actual or potential case study in that area of the methodology.

Beyond that, I would leave it open to other people who work in the areas.

ATTITUDES TOWARD LANGUAGE

Dr. Garcia: John Garcia, University of Michigan.

A good portion of that survey deals somewhat with some of the issues that Francois Nielsen mentioned earlier in terms of contextual settings for language use. Another aspect of that survey, which includes about 1,000 households (the national probability sample), is also a question dealing with language attitudes.

Before this conference, we had some discussion in terms of importance of tying in the piece of language usage information to an extensive section within that instrument. It is about a 200-page instrument. The average interview length is about three and a half hours. Each section was of considerable length.

Language attitudes dealt very much in terms of the saliency of language, the effective orientations toward language persistence and language maintenance. Aside from all the other limitations of the SIE and similar demographic studies, I think some dimensions allow the introduction of attitudinal dimensions to integrate with language use as contextual variations and also other demographic characteristics.

The survey will be for the most part coded and keypunched by the end of this month. The reason I qualify that is that, given the extensiveness of the survey, a good bulk of that survey instrument, something like 40 percent of the items, 2,000 variables, are open ended. All the closed-ended items will be completely keypunched and coded by the end of this month. The coding of the open ended will begin next week. Some results should be forthcoming by the middle of the summer and as time goes on in terms of that data set.

Dr. Waggoner: No one has said anything about the current population survey in 1979. Similar to the one that was undertaken in November of 1969, it asked a number of questions on language, ethnicity, place of birth of parents. It included some of the questions that have been asked in previous censuses that were not asked in 1980, and the 1980 language questions. So there will be another data base available for comparison with the 1980 results.

CURRENT AND PROJECTED LANGUAGE RESEARCH STUDIES

Ms. Rivera: I am Charlene Rivera from Inter-America Research Associates.

I am running an NIE project that deals with the assessment of language proficiency of bilingual persons. Mainly it is dealing with children from K through 12.

There are two components to the project. One is research, and the other one is

training. Right now we are in the process of soliciting research proposals in this area. So these data are also available and will be available.

Three projects are currently funded. They are reviewed in the Bilingual Clearinghouse Newsletter, "The Forum." There will be more activity in this area.

Also, we are planning to get the researchers and others together sometime in the early spring to share their findings and to see what needs to be done in this area.

Mr. Wenk: Perhaps we can turn this back to the panel for discussion. Given what has been said, where might we be headed in the future?

Mr. Laporte: In the future one thing we could do is to allow for a greater variety of style of research on this question. I am a bureaucrat myself. I have been doing bureaucratic research for a number of years. I think there are also other styles of research that are of immense usefulness in decisionmaking. Government bureaucracies do not tend to finance these other styles. I am thinking of photographic research, for instance.

In Canada, our own commission on language, bilingualism and biculturalism, has put an enormous amount of money into survey analysis and census studies. I am not putting down this research. Still, with all this amount of money being put into this research, we still don't know very much about the significance of language in social life or the role of language in producing and reproducing a system of stratification within firms.

A great deal of demographic studies have been done. A great deal of economic studies have been done. However, we are still not able to understand the processes that are in the real life setting. We have been trying to finance these kinds of studies recently. The studies include the problem of how do you implement technical terminologies moving from English technical terminologies to French terminologies.

There was a study done recently by Berkeley people using methods of one firm and using also videotape methods. The study has been quite useful in discovering the key actors in the implementation process. What are the main problems which go on in implementation?

If we had examined this problem using survey methods, I don't think we would have had the same sort of understanding of the process which we attained through six months of participant observation. The researchers were in the industries themselves. They worked in the industries as secretaries, and laboratory technicians. This industry was a brewery working on trucks. With a great deal of complexity, the study showed the obstacles and some of the strategic possibilities of trying to change linguistic behavior.

In the future, I would suggest that you allow for more varieties in research styles, so that you have a more complex picture of the process. I have nothing against questionnaires. I have nothing against demographic research. However, my impression from my own research experience is that with some good qualitative data, you may go very far in developing decisions and strategies and action. If you don't have them, sometimes it is not as good.

Because they operate on a year-to-year basis or a two- or three-year basis as far as financing is concerned, governmental agencies are not necessarily willing to invest in studies of nonconventional style. However, I think it is very important to encourage these kinds of studies.

I want to make that point, because it seems to me that you don't seem to have these sorts of styles of research in mind.

Mr. Beaty: I would like to jump in on that. The point is extremely well taken.

In the Canadian situation we have seen a number of extensive research projects carried out. Mr. Laporte mentioned the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. A similar study was done in Quebec.

The difficulty with expensive statistical studies is that they tend to reproduce themselves, if I can call it that, in terms of numerical processes or processes of language policy implementation.

I would just like to endorse what Mr. Laporte has said of the limitations of that kind of policy implementation as we have encountered it in the Federal government. We are looking at that kind of ethnographic study in a variety of areas within the Federal government at the moment. This is the only way out of a cul de sac, jet lag or whatever you want to call it. The lag is between the statistical analysis, the formulation of policy, and the implementation process without taking regard sufficiently of the interaction of all these processes. The extent to which policy and the way in which policy is formulated and the way the policy is administered become themselves part of the language dynamics. So we are very interested in behavioral approaches to the language dynamics.

Ms. Rosansky: Ellen Rosansky, NIE.

Mr. Laporte, I think perhaps those of us who are in the Department of Education have been focusing and discussing the kinds of funding, focusing our attention on the kinds of large-scale, questionnaire-type studies. I would hate to have you walk out of here thinking that we do not fund ethnographic research in the field of bilingual education. Let me cite an example that didn't get mentioned earlier.

At NIE we have been funding ethnography, looking at successful bilingual programs in the context of not only the school but the entire community. For example, we have already funded a project which has two sites: a rural site outside of Fresno in a small town called Parlier, California, and an urban site in Milwaukee. That is being run out of Cal State, Sacramento.

It is very much a descriptive study of the kids and the community. I, myself, visited the Parlier site and met the priest, the mayor, and the head of the health clinic. They are touching all bases in that community in order to descriptively investigate the context of the children's bilingual education.

I think we have emphasized the large-scale studies today. That study is one of a triple kind of study. We will also be awarding studies to look at the Asian American community and the American Indian community.

Also, we fund some research grants. For example, the project being done by Livermore and Fillmore Associates is also ethnographic in nature and is focusing on a couple of specific school sites. It is descriptively investigating children in bilingual programs. It is looking at them in the classroom, outside of the classroom, in the home, et cetera.

I would hate to have you leave here and think we are not working in that vein.

Mr. Saucedo: I am Tomás Saucedo with the National Council of La Raza.

Do you have in Canada a regular reporting system comparable to this country, which is now becoming a common core data approach?

The key question is: Do you include a language-related element or elements in that regular reporting system, such that you can track things like the number of French-speaking pupils, bilinguals, et cetera?

Mr. Beaty: I think Jack Kralt is probably better qualified, as representing Statistics Canada, to tell you in what way those core data are gathered and to what extent they are reflected.

Mr. Kralt: You are talking about the educational setting, aren't you?

Mr. Saucedo: Do you have regular reporting by school districts on the characteristics of the pupils, the language characteristics?

Mr. Kralt: I am not 100 percent sure. I know there are a number of students that are being taught in the minority language in Ontario. I think in the other provinces as well, since education is a provincial responsibility, it is kind of a division of powers.

I am pretty sure that there really aren't any data which correlate the language of the kid when he comes into the school with any changes. For example, the Dutch kid coming into school is not counted as far as I know. I could be wrong on that.

Dr. Castonguay: Canadian government funding has been under fire from some French minorities, just because there are funds available. For example, I am not talking about populations or things like that. Imagine millions of dollars are given to various provinces and nobody knows where they went. This is a bit of a scandal which hit the news media a couple of years ago. It had been going on for years.

The Federal Government has been trying to promote bilingualism in education, and learning second official languages. Since education is a matter almost directly of provincial jurisdiction constitutionally in Canada, the provincial governments have been doing what they want. Just imagine if we have not been following up, where the money has been going. I think with the counts of heads and of what has been going on insofar as encouragement, development and teaching the other official languages in the various provinces, the data are somewhat questionable.

Mr. Saucedo: So you have an official language policy but you do not have a regular reporting mechanism to see how it is doing.

Mr. Laporte: We have several language policies. The two best known are the Ottawa Federal Government language policy and the Quebec language policy. My impression is that between the two there is a huge difference in objective. One is a policy of bilinguality, and the other is a policy of unilinguality.

There is a tremendous variation between provinces in Canada which you probably don't have here. The Canadian picture insofar as language is concerned and schools are concerned is more complex than that.

I don't want to exaggerate, insofar as the Canadian and Quebec language policy is concerned, there are conflicts in policy. We have problems implementing one policy in Quebec, at the same time that another policy is implemented in Quebec. Some organizations in Quebec are under Federal control.

You have a situation where some firms, for instance, are likely to become much more franchized than other firms. The Quebec government can put pressure on firms that are under their jurisdiction, but cannot put pressure on other firms which are under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. One example is the Crown Corporation.

The policy has diverged over the years. I am not quite sure what will happen in the future. At the present time the picture is quite complex because of these conflicting policy orientations. Perhaps some people would think that they are less conflicting than I assume. I see them as conflicting.

Mr. Beaty: I do not wish to comment on the extent of the conflict, although I agree there are certain areas of conflict. I don't want to add to the confusion, but I will try to answer your question with respect to the Federal Government's effect on bilingualism in education.

It is the case that one Federal agency, which in this case happens to be the Secretary of State, provides funds to the provinces on a pro rata per capita basis. The provinces themselves have to put in an amount to make up the difference. That money goes to the promotion in schools of the minority language per se and to the minority language as a second language for the majority, if I have made myself clear.

However, in terms of keeping data on the results of those courses or how many children of one kind or another are in the program, this is done through Statistics Canada, which is the reason I threw the question to Jack Kralt. It is in his area. Statistics Canada gathers from each province, as much data as they will make available on the number of children of one kind or another, who are attending this or that kind of school, or taking this or that kind of language program.

Obviously we are one, two, or three removes from the source of those data. The Federal Government is in no position to go and examine that. As Dr. Castonguay mentioned, it could and is trying to demand greater accountability for the use of those contributions they make.

LANGUAGE, NATIONALISM AND GOVERNMENT ACTION

Mr. Wenic: Let's get back to some people who have been waiting very patiently and shift the discussion south of the border for a while.

Dr. Peng: I would like to pick up again the discussion of the issues and where we are going and what we should do. I would like to say that despite some reservations on the quality of the SIE data, I believe that Dr. Veltman's study is of great significance in providing the basis for this discussion. Perhaps the study will help to allay some fears of the development of language-based nationalism.

I believe that adopting English as a common language is probably a natural consequence, in view of the social and economic structure in this society. I think we are overemphasizing the language issues by thinking that retention of minority languages may impose a threat to the national integrity. I am not sure that this is necessarily true.

I think other factors such as social and economic equities play very important roles. They are probably more important than language. Nevertheless, I believe that to enhance the individual's mastery of English as a common language, is beneficial to the nation as a whole as well as to individuals. I say this because I believe a nation needs a common language, regardless of whether or not the language is one's native tongue.

I strongly believe that the government: should also systematically assist minority group members to retain their mother tongues; should encourage English-speaking people to learn other languages; and should preserve and nourish the various cultural heritages in this American culture.

I think understanding and appreciating diverse cultures can only add to the greatness of this nation. Integration of minorities into American society can be

regarded as adding sugar to drinking water. You may not see the sugar, but the water becomes sweet.

The next question is how should minority languages and cultures be integrated into American society. I suggest that we support a public education system in which all children will be ensured the opportunity to attain proficiency in English. At the same time, the children will be provided with opportunities to learn or study further, at least one additional language of their choice.

To accomplish this goal, I do not believe it is necessary to develop parallel public school systems. Those parallel systems use languages other than English as the ordinary language of instruction; and English is taught only as a subject among others. Separate school systems will not arrest the case of the adaptation of English, but will create or reinforce antagonism among subgroups.

Besides, if children cannot achieve the necessary proficiency of English in this society, they may be hampered in entering the mainstream of American society. These children will be similar to new immigrants to this country. Many of the immigrants are unable to compete effectively in the labor market and in other social and economic settings because of the lack of English language skills. The children may be confined to certain communities or regions where opportunities may be limited.

I do believe, however, that the government can do a lot of things. Some of the courses of action are like this:

First, continue to support programs that assist minority members in achieving English proficiency. For example, Title I programs and bilingual education have this type of objective.

Second, I think we can institute or reinforce programs in public schools to teach minority languages such as Spanish, French, or Chinese, depending on the needs of the local communities. Children of both English and non-English speaking backgrounds should be encouraged to learn second languages. Schools also should be encouraged to utilize local resources in this effort. These programs should be established in elementary schools, not just in high schools, as in foreign languages.

Third, we can provide assistance to communities to develop and operate programs that are aimed at mainstreaming or maintaining and enriching the cultural variety. The current cultural heritage programs administered by the Department of Education are the right step. I think they should be expanded.

Fourth, I think we can provide assistance to programs developed to provide minority language instruction and cultural studies outside public schools. For example, after school classes and weekend schools can provide a great opportunity to children who want to learn another minority language and culture.

If they are properly implemented, I believe that these programs outlined above will help to preserve minority languages which are valuable national resources, while at the same time, the programs will allow all people in this nation to communicate in a common language. This common language can be expanded and continuously revitalized English, enriched with elements from Spanish, French, German, Chinese, and other languages of ethnic groups. Let's call this language American and educate people, all people in this nation, to use it to truly communicate with each other.

This is my summary remark.

Mr. Wenk: Thank you.

Perhaps we can ask some of the other panel members to sum up the report.

Mr. Laporte: Obviously, it is not the place perhaps to do it here, but I must disassociate myself strongly from this kind of statement. You are assuming that it is enough to achieve as an individual, while I assume that we must also achieve as people. If you are not willing to face this assumption, obviously there is an aspect of the picture that you do not wish. When you say that adopting a language is a natural consequence, I cannot subscribe to this notion. Your instrumental theory of language, I do not subscribe to this.

Language is a lot more than means of communication. It is a huge bank of information that people use in order to express collective selves. This is very important in this whole discussion. If you do not recognize right at the start that it might be legitimate for a collectivity to wish to achieve as a people, then there is nothing wrong with what we have seen today or what the data seem to indicate. I disassociate myself strongly from that kind of statement.

CLOSING COMMENTS

Mr. Wenk: We have a limited amount of time left. Perhaps we could get some short summary statements from the panel members.

Mr. Kralt: I would just like to address that one. That really bugs me—that particular comment in the sense of what he is doing there.

I am assuming that you were talking about how the English treats the Chicano in this country. You are saying, "As long as I am French in Quebec, God damn the rest of us." You are Dutch. You learn my language or you learn English. You are taking a power position. It is as straightforward as that. What you are saying to me is that I have no right to maintain my own culture, which in my case happens to be Dutch. You are saying I have to take your culture. That is what you just said.

Dr. Veltman: As a person of Dutch ancestry in a French community in Montreal, I don't know how one answers that except to say that the Dutch have assimilated basically to the English community in Montreal. The Quebec government provides a range of public services in English for English-speaking citizens in Quebec. The English minority in Quebec is treated better than any minority in North America.

Let me just say that people chit chat about the data, the methodology, and the variables but I have seen enough here that if I were committed to a Spanish language group the way some of your are, it would scare me some. We may be able to say: well, maybe it is not quite as bad; or maybe it's a little bit worse; or maybe we can fool around with the variables a little bit. However, some of these data are pretty heavy data, as some of you have recognized.

I am all in favor of further research to analyze the contextual refinements of the methodology and to understand how bilinguals work in their head. We are going to be facing the elimination of bilinguals and most other groups short of continued immigration, as David mentioned.

I think for myself I would be more in favor of some creative thinking, well beyond the context of school systems. I really agree with Pierre's analysis that schools are just simply not enough. I didn't think that I could propose anything more radical which would be found to be in context with people's aspirations or within the American constitutional framework.

Some things are permissible. For example, in Quebec we have a system of what

we call the people's banks. Maybe it is time for enterprising individuals to start little banks, to amass the people's money, and to start some Chicano businesses. The language of their lives and work would be Spanish. There could be pilot projects by people who are committed to Spanish language maintenance and see what happens. You can fail. That's happened before.

On the other hand, I think always in terms of pilot projects. We have had grandiose designs about changing the nature of the American environment. Maybe we can't do that, but perhaps we can start some pilot projects in Spanish language education. That seems to be radical to so many people.

We talk about bilingual programs which have as their goal to facilitate an anglicization which is already very high. Maybe some people need to really get down with the idea of Spanish language education, a pilot project, and persuade somebody. I don't know. Beat down the door of Ford Corporation and see if you can get some money to try it.

I do think that the data are fairly alarming, but not in terms of the ability to speak Spanish for the next 50 years because I think David is right. We are going to have a Spanish-speaking people in the United States for a long time. Mexico is a nice friendly neighbor next door. It is possible to communicate and if necessary, attend a university in Spanish. There are links that are possible in terms of long term interest, but I really think that maybe you ought to think more originally or creatively. We need to get beyond counts.

Mr. Espada: May I respond to that?

My name is Frank Espada. I represent Boricua College, a bilingual-bicultural college in New York City.

Your remarks simply indicate to me that either you are ignoring or you are not aware of the racist nature of the society that we live in. We have an institution that is the only bilingual-bicultural college in the Northeast. We were recently defunded by the very same Department of Education that I assume is funding this conference. The developing institutions grant was denied us that we had last year. I am not saying that simply because of the fact that we are still sore about the fact we lost the only Federal grant that we have been able to secure.

I think inherently what we have is a society that looks down upon people who are not of Anglo background. I think that has been the nature of our experience in this country from the very beginning.

We have tried all the things that you mentioned in terms of trying to create some kind of an atmosphere where we can study in Spanish and do everything else in Spanish. We have been trying. The fact of the matter is that very little of that is encouraged. They give us a lot of lip service, a minimum of support, all the way down and across from the business end to the educational side. So we have a different kind of animal south of the American border that you talked about.

Mr. Wenk: Dr. Mazzone, would you like to make some closing comments?

Dr. Mazzone: I would just make a couple of closing remarks.

As I size it up, I think the issue of language is a matter of politics. It is a matter of power. It is a matter of economics. It is also a social thing. It is also personal.

I can walk into the north end of Boston on Hanover Street and I can see the Bank Hispana with a sign outside, "English spoken here." The sign means that Italian is the language of that bank.

It is also personal in the sense that if I want a cup of cappucino and I order it and I speak in Italian, I get a smile. If I use English, I don't.

I think that is important because that is part of the socialization. We have a lot of that in this country. We should preserve that. The issue is loaded. It is very loaded. It conjures up all kinds of things, as John has said, including hatred and racism on the part of a lot of people, the general public in particular.

I think this kind of study is necessary. If I can do some soothsaying (it is not that it should be this way), I believe that the study will be thrown into the hopper. It is going to be used as a vehicle for backlash to continue the repressive policies regarding the use and maintenance program. I am talking about the real world of people and kids, because that is where it is at. It could be positively used, and I hope it is.

I would like to see more studies. In a real way, when we study shifts, I think we imply something negative. Shift means a loss as a deficiency. It is pain. It has negative overtones.

What we ought to concentrate on is a positive kind of research, which will emphasize the positive aspects of language maintenance rather than language shift.

I would like to stop here.

Dr. Castonguay: That's interesting. The type of study that Professor Veltman has carried out has been carried out in Canada, particularly concentrating on the various French-speaking minorities outside of Quebec. The reaction of those minorities was to form a federation of French-speaking minorities outside of Quebec. They used those facts. First they assimilated them. And then they used them as ammunition at the regional, provincial, Federal government levels to try at least to slow the processes, possibly to stabilize them, and ideally to reverse them.

I find the reaction today on the part of many persons interested in the development of the Spanish language somewhat strange. Perhaps it is your first reaction. Bad news is bad news. Usually the first reaction is to slay the carrier of the bad news. Then one thinks about it, assimilates the facts, and reacts accordingly.

The type of reaction which was brought about by such facts in French Canada was let's fight. Ultimately, of course, frustration follows. If there is a lack of organization, if there is a lack of consensus on the part of the minority community in particular (which no doubt exists in the United States), there are some who will advise assimilation as being the best way to cherish other cultural hangovers or leftovers as symbols of ethnic demarcation.

Others will go on to realize that language and culture are very, very intimately intertwined. The loss of language of a culture is great cultural impoverishment. Others will react and try to gain something to foster the development of that language, at least to help it hang on.

I suppose that there will be considerable debate fed by Professor Veltman's work, particularly from the Hispanic people of the United States. I suggest that maybe you should think of using it positively. Think of what precise objectives you could formulate, which might appear radical initially.

Many things which French Canadian asked appeared extremely radical and impossible to obtain 10 or 20 years ago. Nevertheless, with clarity and the goals defined, the validity in the sense of human ethics of what they were after gained momentum slowly, painfully, but surely. In the present day, even in the past three or four years, it has led to a readjustment of the social contract in Canada. The adjustment has been rather favorable to the French-speaking Canadians.

It all must end. If it is not to be ended in frustration, it must end in political expression, the ultimate organization of political power. With outrage, we sit around in seminars and talk about isn't it awful or isn't it great, aren't they great, or isn't the overall situation grim.

Concerning balkanization, one nation-one language, loyalty to the nation, don't forget that there are different nations in the world—nation-states, may I make it more precise—which have different official languages. The examples include South Africa, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Switzerland.

I don't adhere to the view that language diversification leads necessarily to separatism, and to rupture of political unity. I don't think history bears that out. There might be examples pro; there might be examples con. It is not something which goes without saying.

Thank you.

Dr. López: I don't have too much more to say.

Like Charles, I am kind of an optimist. I live in Southern California. I live in a personal world that is increasingly multilingual and multicultural. California is not falling apart despite reports that do get back here.

I think ultimately what is going to happen is not going to be tremendously influenced by what we say here, or by the way that people interpret Calvin's paper. I am sort of the populist, I guess. I think it is going to happen largely on the basis of how people make individual decisions.

I guess I would just like to close with a plug for that common person out there. We used to call him the common man. It is individual people making their own decisions that not only will have the most important effect, but also I think should have. There is nothing I find more horrendous than that thought that somebody or something called the Office of Bilingual Education is making policy that is going to seriously affect my children or the children of my cousins. However, as I said, I guess I am a little bit of a populist. I know that is not very popular here in Washington.

Mr. Beaty: Perhaps I could begin by reacting to that last remark that these are individual decisions that one has to make. I think we would delude ourselves seriously, particularly in the area of language, if we would think that those decisions, the individual decisions, have little or nothing to do with the kind of policies and the kind of social framework within which we function.

I think it would not be possible in contemporary Canada, for instance, to make certain decisions with respect to language choice vis-a-vis one's children, if there had not been some sort of policy decisions or orientations to give it a more general sense which had been deliberately introduced.

One can sit back and leave it to the individual decision. That is what we are talking about here this afternoon and this morning as well. There is a process underway, which Dr. Veltman's paper very clearly describes. Methodology aside, I repeat that I see no difficulty in accepting that these are the facts of assimilation and this is the structure of assimilation. If you want to do something about it, I don't think one can simply say it will work itself out or there will be a surge of some sort of feeling at the local and individual level and that is all it will take to turn the thing around.

On the contrary, as Calvin mentioned, we have to ask ourselves what degree of autonomy—because I do not like balkanization either—what degree of local

autonomy—that is to say, by local autonomy, a say in one's own affairs, a political say in one's own affairs—is necessary to achieve whatever one considers an adequate degree of respect for the tongue that one most closely identifies with.

If you want to join a bandwagon effect, say we are all born straddling a number of linguistic frontiers. I was born on the frontier between England and Scotland. I don't suppose in my family tree there has ever been anyone who spoke anything other than English. The sense of social differences of English and Scots has survived the disappearance of any kind of linguistic distinction.

I think the question that I would ask myself in your position this afternoon is: Do you need political decisions? If so, what are those political decisions? What is the implication of not making a decision?

That is to say, we have certainly experienced in Canada the repercussions of nondecision or repressive decisions vis-a-vis the French language. It has not produced a particularly healthy mutual respect between the two groups.

To the extent one does not offer respect and recognition to a particular language group (especially a language group that happens to number in your case 20 to 25 million), what happens to that particular language group, even if its language is wiped out, how does it feel? I think we have already heard a little bit about how it feels at this particular point in time. It is not going to go away even if the language is totally wiped out if you let the galloping assimilation to which we have referred take over.

I recognize at the same time that it is none of my business to speak to citizens of the United States in the world that is not known for tolerance anywhere and to say you can afford to introduce a number of institutional changes which will be beneficial to the Spanish language or perhaps a non-English language.

Where does it lead? That is your problem. Where does the introduction of a little respect lead in terms of the appetite and expectation of more respect, more equality? I am not saying that to discourage you. I am simply saying that that is what is at issue here. Hopefully more respect is the consequence of a little respect, but not necessarily.

I will leave you with that.

Mr. Wenk: I think that wraps it up for the panel. I would like to express thanks to all the panel members who were able to join us today, those from great distances, as well as those who were able to join us as invited visitors today.

I would also like to acknowledge the support of the staff of the Latino Institute who worked long and hard hours, under very difficult conditions, to come up with what I consider a successful seminar.

As I mentioned earlier, this is the first seminar of this type with which the Center, a traditional statistical agency has been involved. I think before we can evaluate this there is going to be some need for settling time and tracking the reports that may or may not take on lives of their own.

Is there any comment anybody would like to make before we close this out?

I would like to call this seminar to a close. Thank you very much.

Appendixes

APPENDIX A
SEMINAR AGENDA

May 13, 1980
The Retention of Minority Languages in the United States

Chair: Victor D. Wenk, Deputy Administrator, NCES

9:00 – 9:05	Opening Remarks	Marie D. Eldridge
9:05 – 9:15	Introduction to Seminar	Victor D. Wenk
9:15 – 10:00	Presentation Minority Language Retention	Calvin J. Veltman
10:00 – 10:30	Panel Comments	Discussants
10:30 – 10:45	Break	
10:45 – 12:15	Panel Interaction	Discussants
12:15 – 1:15	Working Lunch	Discussants and Invited Guests
1:15 – 2:45	Audience Interaction Focus: "What Have You Heard Today?"	Invited Guests
2:45 – 3:00	Break	
3:00 – 3:45	Audience Interaction Focus: "Future Directions"	Invited Guests
3:45 – 4:15	Panel Summary	Discussants
4:15 – 4:30	Concluding Remarks	Victor D. Wenk

APPENDIX B
LIST OF PANELISTS

Mr. Stuart Beaty, Director of Policy Analysis Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Ottawa, Canada. The Office of the Commissioner is ombudsmen for the Canadian government in the area of languages. Mr. Beaty holds a diploma in Linguistics from the University of Wales and is presently working in the areas of administrative language reform and planning in Ottawa, Canada.

Dr. René Cárdenas, President and Executive Director, BCTV, an independent television production and educational research company located in Oakland, California. Dr. Cárdenas is a well-known author whose recent book is entitled, "Parenting in a Multi-Cultural Society." He is involved in national linguistic studies and is the producer of the long running children's television show, "Villa Alegre."

Dr. Charles Castonguay, Associate Professor of Mathematics, University of Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. Dr. Castonguay has published regularly since 1974 on the demography of language groups; is very active in the public debate over language issues in French Canada and is presently working on Canadian language policy and analysis.

Dr. Leobardo Estrada, Staff Assistant to the Deputy Director, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. Dr. Estrada is a leading demographer with a special interest in the Hispanic population of the United States. He is presently on leave from UCLA.

Mr. Pierre Laporte, Director of Research and Evaluation for the French Language Office, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Mr. Laporte is presently working to implement a law for the use of French in the Province of Quebec. He is doing research on the effect of the language law as applied to private business.

Dr. David López, Associate Professor of Sociology, Sociology Department, University of California, Los Angeles. Dr. López has been working in the area of language maintenance, with particular emphasis on Spanish in the Los Angeles area. He was involved in a two-year study of bilingual education services and is currently working on an NCES study projecting the limited English population to the year 2000.

Dr. Ernest Mazzone, Director of the Bilingual Education Bureau, Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Member of the National Advisory Board for Bilingual Education. Dr. Mazzone has conducted research with the Department of Defense for dependent schools worldwide on a survey of children of non-English language ancestry. He has done research for the National Institute of Education on the Children's English and Services Study. He has also worked on the Census on the identification of persons of other than English backgrounds and identifying those of limited English proficiency.

Dr. Samuel Peng, Senior Research Scientist, Westat, a private social research company located in Rockville, Maryland. Dr. Peng is presently working in the areas of educational and career advancement of minority groups and women; the needs of science evaluation in two-year colleges, and education evaluation of a business program with the American University.

APPENDIX C
LIST OF ATTENDEES

Glenda Arrick
Latino Institute Research Division
1760 Reston Avenue, Suite 101
Reston, Va. 22090

Joanne Bisagna
National Institute of Education
1200 19th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208

Carol Blanck
National Association for Bilingual Education
1201 16th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

George H. Brown
National Center for Education Statistics
Presidential Building
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Stephen Cahir
Center for Applied Linguistics
1611 North Kent Street
Arlington, Va. 22209

Ernestine Carrizosa
National Institute of Education
1200 19th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208

John Chapman
Department of Education
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Mae Chu-Chang
National Institute of Education
1200 19th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208

John Crandall
Center for Applied Linguistics
1611 North Kent Street
Arlington, Va. 22209

Elvira Crocker
Department of Education
Office of Public Affairs
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Driana Davies
Latino Institute Research Division
1760 Reston Avenue, Suite 101
Reston, Va. 22090

Carmen Dudga
Department of Education
2100 2nd Street S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024

Richard Durán
Educational Testing Service
Princeton, N.J. 08541

Carolyn Ebel
National Association for Bilingual Education
1201 16th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Marcelo Fernández
D.C. Public Schools
Bilingual Education Office
35th & T Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Delford Furney
Latino Institute Research Division
1760 Reston Avenue, Suite 101
Reston, Va. 22090

Gilbert García
Department of Education
300 7th Street S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Iris Garfield
National Center for Education Statistics
Presidential Building
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Eva Gavillán
ASPIRA Center for Educational Equity
1625 Eye Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Madeleine Giguere
University of Southern Maine
96 Falmouth Street
Portland, Maine 04103

Rosario C. Gingiar
National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education
1300 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Va. 22209

Martha Mary Gray Horses
National Institute of Education
1200 19th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208

Curtis Groves
Department of Education
2100 2nd Street S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024

Ronald Hall
Department of Education
300 7th Street S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Susan T. Hill
National Center for Education Statistics
Presidential Building
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Marion T. Jones
Department of Education
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

R. S. Jones
Library of Congress
Thomas Jefferson Building
10 2nd Street S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20540

R. Z. Juárez
Department of Health & Human Services
200 Independence Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20201

Andrew Kolstad
National Center for Education Statistics
Presidential Building
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

John Kralt
Statistician
Canada

Jack Levy
Department of Education
OBEMLA
300 7th Street S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Karl Li
Department of Education
300 7th Street S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Reynaldo Macías
National Institute of Education
1200 19th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208

Rafael Magallan
National Council of La Raza
1725 Eye Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Karen McGill
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
1121 Vermont Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Maggie McKenna
Latino Institute Research Division
1760 Reston Avenue, Suite 101
Reston, Va. 22090

Dan Melnick
Library of Congress
Thomas Jefferson Building

10 2nd Street S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20540

Henry Meyer
George Mason University
4400 University Drive
Fairfax, Va. 22030

Jack Moore
Latino Institute Research Division
1760 Reston Avenue, Suite 101
Reston, Va. 22090

Mary Morán
Department of Education
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Emma Moreno
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D.C. 20233

Lorenzo Morris
Howard University
2401 6th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20059

Bjorn Netland
George Washington University
1332 R Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Francois Nielsen
University of Chicago
Department of Sociology
Chicago, Ill. 60637

Abdin Noboa
Latino Institute Research Division
1760 Reston Avenue, Suite 101
Reston, Va. 22090

Tetssuo Okada
Department of Education
2100 2nd Street S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024

Luis Ortiz-Franco
National Institute of Education
1200 19th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208

Rebecca Oxford
InterAmerican Research Association
1555 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Va. 22209

Segismundo Pares
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
2401 E Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Ursula C. Piñero
National Institute of Education
1200 19th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208

I. Pulgar-Vidal
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D.C. 20233

Wendy Redlinger
L. Miranda & Associates
4340 East-West Highway
Bethesda, Md. 20016

Armando B. Rendon
Bureau of the Census
Public Information Office
Washington, D.C. 20233

Charlene Rivera
InterAmerican Research Association
1555 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Va. 22209

Silvia S. Rodríguez
Department of Education
300 7th Street S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024

Ellen Rosansky
National Institute of Education
1200 19th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208

Tom Ryan
Department of Education
Office of Public Affairs
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Tomás Saucedo
National Council of La Raza
1725 Eye Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

David Savage
Education USA
1801 North Moore Street
Arlington, Va. 22209

Diana Schacht
Honorable Baltasar Corrada's Office
1319 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Aileen Schlef
Department of Education
OBEMLA
300 7th Street S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Betsy Shelsby
Latino Institute Research Division
1760 Reston Avenue, Suite 101
Reston, Va. 22090

Joyce Shuman
Arlington Schools
816 South Walter Reed Drive
Arlington, Va. 22101

Leslie J. Silverman
National Center for Education Statistics
Presidential Building
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Toogsoo Song
National Institute of Education
1200 19th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208

John P. Stathis
Department of Education
7th & D Streets S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20201

Gloria Stewner
Foreign Service Institute
1400 Key Boulevard
Washington, D.C. 22209

Richard Thompson
Department of Education
7th & D Streets S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20201

Kathy Truex
Department of Education
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Theresa Valdéz
Advisory Council
National Center for Education Statistics
Presidential Building
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Rafael Valdivieso
ASPIRA Center for Educational
Equity
1625 Eye Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Elizabeth Vander-Patten
National Institute of Education
1200 19th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208

James G. Ward
American Federation of Teachers
11 Dupont Circle N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Victor Wenk
National Center for Education Statistics
Presidential Building
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Corinne Scott White
National Institute of Education
1200 19th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208

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